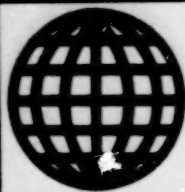


JPRS-UPA-88-055  
30 NOVEMBER 1988



**FOREIGN  
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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-055

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30 NOVEMBER 1988

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**Latvian Secretary Gorbunov Interviewed**  
*18080001 Riga CINA in Latvian 27 Sep 88 p 1*

[Interview with the LaSSR CP Central Committee's Secretary Anatoliy Gorbunov concerning the 4th conference of the USSR-USA public representatives in the Georgia's capital Tbilisi by CINA's correspondent K. Pakalns: "Edges of Dialog"]

[Text] First of all, let us remind you of certain important facts of the recent past. The 1st meeting of the USSR and the USA public representatives took place in 1985. At that time, 5 representatives of our country discussed with their American partners the important aspects of relations between the two countries. This meeting took place in a small resort town of Chautauqua, N.Y., which is a significant scientific and cultural center. This meeting became known as the Chautauqua dialog. Unfortunately, this meeting had mostly a confrontational nature. In September, 1986, this discussion was continued in our Yurmala. This time a substantially larger number of participants (several hundred people in total) participated in the meeting. The next year, the meeting again took place in Chautauqua. This fall the time has come for the 4th Soviet-American public representatives conference.

This time it took place in Tbilisi. For 6 days approximately 500 participants, of whom more than 300 were Americans, discussed different aspects of the USSR-USA relations which today worry people all over the world.

Representatives of our republic, namely, the LaSSR CP Central Committee's Secretary Anatoliy Gorbunov and the Chairman of the presidium of the Latvian society for friendship and cultural ties with foreign countries Ivars Vikis were among the participants. On the night from Saturday to Sunday they returned home from the Georgia's capital. And immediately in Riga's airport, Anatoliy Gorbunov had kindly agreed to tell about his most important and interesting impressions from the conference to the CINA's correspondent.

[K. Pakalns] I think that it would be useful to begin our conversation by giving a comparative assessment of the just completed meeting. How did the direction of discussions and participants' mood change during these years?

[A. Gorbunov] To an extent, I can consider myself a veteran of the Soviet-American public representatives dialog, since I participated in three of the previous conferences. Indeed, it is now important to examine the changes in the relations between both countries. Those can be characterized by one word, namely, essential. Let us remember the meeting in Yurmala in 1986. At that time, this dialog started with a sensible and dramatic tension, which was set up, as we know, by the former USA ambassador to Moscow, Jack Matlock. And the general discussion in our resort town was carried out in a quite tense and, at times, even heated atmosphere. Now, I can tell with satisfaction that this crest belongs to the past. The 3rd conference in Chautauqua was marked

by substantially improved attitudes, because the participants were trying to find common grounds for the problems being discussed. The USSR deputy foreign minister Anatoliy Adamishin spoke about these essential changes at the first plenary session of the conference in Tbilisi. He, an economist by education, is experienced in international affairs and has spent about 30 years in diplomatic service. A. Adamishin had stressed the characteristic facts, namely, that there were four summits between the leaders of both countries, leaders of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the American State Department have met 28 times, high level contacts took place also between the defense officials of both countries, and more than 100 US congressmen visited the Soviet Union. In general, the relations have widened in various fields. Based on these and other aspects, one can feel that a certain stability is appearing...At the Tbilisi conference I was especially interested in the position of the official representatives of the USSR and the USA on the subjects of interest to both sides.

[K. Pakalns] And what is your assessment of these positions?

[A. Gorbunov] Unfortunately, the attitude toward a number of important problems has changed very little. The results, which we anticipated and hoped for, are disproportional to the work that has been carried out.

[K. Pakalns] Why?

[A. Gorbunov] Three years ago, the American officials took a position, the essence of which can be characterized in already so well known words, namely, that of strength. This point of view could be felt this time also. It is true, however, that this attitude has become substantially more sophisticated. The deputy assistant Secretary of State, T. Simon stressed three main aspects of the American administration's attitude toward the Soviet Union, namely, those of strength, realism, and dialog. Of course, there is no disagreement in assessing the last two aspects. However, we have a different view on the subject of strength. Our partners in dialog have expressed their views in the following approximate words: You are idealists, while we, the Americans, need strength to affirm self-respect, because man created nuclear weapons and will not give them up. In addition, T. Simon stressed that in his opinion strength means defending the American interests and values. Therefore, they may be both purposeful and cruel at the same time... For the sake of objectiveness, I must add that the speaker himself agreed that the term "dialog from the position of strength" sometimes, to a degree, resembles a dictate and, therefore, may not be accepted by an opponent.

[K. Pakalns] Indeed, seemingly simple notions sometimes could be diametrically opposite.

[A. Gorbunov] The Americans often stress the thought that we are different. However, this time at the Tbilisi conference, we heard from our partners in dialog also



encouraging opinions. It was stressed that now it would be improper for one side to "wisely" teach the other one, but rather one side should learn from another. This is an important notion, indeed. An opinion that tensions in regional conflicts are originated neither in the Soviet Union, nor in the USA, was expressed. These tensions originate in their own social and political environment. There was a significant acknowledgment by the Americans that they have no intentions to start a discussion with us concerning the history of the Soviet Union. Of course, this does not mean that our overseas partners cannot express their subjective opinion concerning the matter.

[K. Pakalns] Such a view can be only welcomed.

[A. Gorbunov] Definitely. In essence, this is a new policy, a notion in the spirit of the modern realism, which should be supported in every possible way. However, these positive aspects of the conference did not include some new contradictions. In spite of the fact that five minutes before it was declared that teaching the other partner should not be considered a wise thing to do, this notion was not observed in the subsequent speeches of the American official representatives. For example, the issue of the tragic accident with a South Korean airplane was raised again. At the same time, not a single word was said about the recent Iranian passenger airliner accident caused by the American armed forces. And something else. Our country was reproved for providing help to Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and Angola. Immediately, a question was asked to specify the aid, which the USA is so lavishly pouring onto the counter-revolutionary forces of these countries. Unfortunately, there was no answer to this important question.

[K. Pakalns] The Chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, who during the Yurmala conference was at the center of attention of the public and the press, participated in the Tbilisi conference.

[A. Gorbunov] This time Colonel General Nikolay Chervov discussed with his American partner Maynard Glitman the problems of reducing the conventional and nuclear weapons. The Chief of the General Staff explained our State's strategy for reducing armaments. Because quite a lot is achieved in this field, the representatives of both states can be proud of these achievements.

[K. Pakalns] Comrade Gorbunov, what is the outlook in this field?

[A. Gorbunov] Nikolay Chervov stressed that the road to the future will not be easy. However, it is the only reasonable and correct direction. Our government is of the opinion that it is possible to complete a draft of a treaty, which would provide for a 50 percent reduction in strategic and nuclear weapons. However, there were

no constructive answers to this and other important questions. As a result of these questions, the Americans during the Tbilisi conference again called us idealists.

[K. Pakalns] How was this opinion supported?

[A. Gorbunov] Quite cleverly. They said that we want to build a house starting from the roof. As to them, the Americans, they do it the opposite way, namely, they start this work by building a strong foundation. One must admit that such a comparison has a really undeniable logic. But let us examine this problem even further. Yes, our proposal to reduce nuclear weapons in half has a revolutionary nature. However, not only military specialists know well that the remaining 50 percent of nuclear weapons are sufficient to eliminate both the USSR and the USA in case of war. If so, what kind of idealists can we be? An interesting discussion took place on the subject of what would be the direction of ties between both countries if Ronald Reagan would accept the proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev in Reykjavik. Immediately, a thought that the Soviet proposal was at that time too revolutionary and impulsive was expressed. Therefore, it was rejected. At the same time, it was recognized that if the mutual agreement would be reached in Reykjavik, both countries would not achieve the improved relations they have now.

[K. Pakalns] How were the discussions concerning human rights carried out?

[A. Gorbunov] The last year dialog in Chautauqua and this year dialog in Tbilisi were not especially profound and constructive. However, in my opinion, we should not blame either ourselves, or the Americans. The US ambassador to Hungary Mark Palmer, whom we knew already from Yurmala, started the discussion. The American tourists of Jewish origin supported his thoughts by presenting their concrete complaints. Essentially, there is nothing wrong with it, but such a view presented through a prism of strictly personal and deeply subjective feelings aroused antipathy among the participants. I remember the words said by our compatriot Karina Mierina: "One may think that the world has only one problem, that is, the problem of Jews." In Tbilisi, such issues, which were hotly discussed in Yurmala, namely, going abroad, emigration, and meetings, were not debated. However, regarding these issues, it was reminded that recently the American labor unions invited their partners from the USSR, but the American authorities did not issue them visas. Mark Palmer tried to justify such actions by explaining that the authorities in charge of visas are overloaded. We were reproached that parcels mailed from abroad to the Soviet Union are subjected to an extremely high customs duty, that those are slowly delivered and sometimes even disappear. We were also criticized for that the Soviet Union cares very little for publishing religious literature. We recognize that these are real problems and that already in the nearest future these problems will be resolved.



[K. Pakalns] What was the impact of the former USA ambassador to the USSR, Arthur Hartmann, presence at the conference?

[A. Gorbunov] A positive one. Mr. Hartmann represents those circles in the USA, which contributed to improving the relations between our countries. At the present time, the former ambassador is retired and is involved in his business. In Tbilisi, Arthur Hartmann made an interesting and substantial speech. He stressed that in the nearest future, regardless of who is the next President, the American administration will have mainly to be involved with domestic, rather than foreign problems. Arthur Hartmann condemned the USSR and the USA practices of selling arms and did not support the American trade restrictions imposed on our country. We stressed that an economic pressure cannot improve relations. In his opinion, a unilateral placement of nuclear weapons, in space should be regarded as a wrong decision. He also stated that the human rights should be guaranteed by each individual sovereignty. I am also ready to put my signature under these words of Arthur Hartmann.

[K. Pakalns] Comrade Gorbunov, all the time we have spoken only about important and serious problems of cooperation. But is it not true that any present time international meeting cannot be imagined without not-so-serious and even amusing events.

[A. Gorbunov] Indeed, they do happen. Today, with a kind smile I would like to recollect several of such episodes. I cannot say that our Georgian friends, who received guests in their homes, were always successful organizers. However, these small mistakes were more than amply compensated by the traditional hospitality of the people, which this time was demonstrated on an especially large scale. Those 120 Americans, who lived during the conference with Georgian families, fully experienced it. Of course, during their free time, the guests were offered a wide program of entertainment. The guests also visited the Tbilisi market. And here they experienced an unexpected surprise when people would not take money for the goods selected by the guests. I remember with a smile also certain aspects of the discussion. We noticed that when the discussion was about issues of a philosophical nature, mostly women were representing the Georgian side. However, when the subject was trade, only Georgian men were speaking. An American couple from Chicago, Becky and Fred Habimht, celebrated their silver anniversary in the Tbilisi wedding palace. The celebration was colorful, festive, and unforgettable.

[K. Pakalns] We have discussed only some aspects of the conference in Tbilisi.

[A. Gorbunov] I think that Ivars Vikis can provide a more detailed description of other problems.

[K. Pakalns] Good. We will publish the conversation with Ivars Vikis in one of the next issues of CINA. Comrade Gorbunov, thank you!

#### **Administrative Problems Caused by New Khatlon Oblast Formation**

18300094 Dushanbe *KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA*  
in Russian 9 Oct 88 p 2

[TadzhikTA report under the rubric "Commentary on the Subject": "A Formula for Inertia"]

[Text] The selection of the agenda for consideration by the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet was dictated by a fact known to all. Two oblasts have been combined into one, and there was an urgent need to discuss anew the prospects for the city, no longer an oblast center but a rayon center, and in connection with this, to determine the possibilities for developing the adjacent rayon.

The members of the Presidium, however, were guided least of all by "diplomatic considerations"—that is, by a desire to demonstrate to the city residents that Kulyab had not become an unimportant city, that it would not be receiving less attention. This was apparent even without diplomacy. No, the objectives were serious and practical. The Presidium's trip to Kulyab was a sort of experiment. In his introduction G.B. Pallayev described it this way:

"The out-of-town session provides an opportunity to involve a very broad range of concerned individuals in the discussion of our subject. We could not have summoned to Dushanbe the number of people assembled here in the hall today. This means that we can assess the situation more comprehensively, objectively and thoroughly. If this kind of discussion justifies itself, if it produces a real benefit, the Presidium may continue to hold out-of-town sessions."

Almost all of the talks by the session participants were in the same practical, businesslike vein.

Almost, but not all. When we describe the events we have to depart from the official procedure and begin by talking not about the main report but about the second report. The tone for the discussion was set by the second speaker A.M. Babayev, chairman of the deputy group.

The situation developing in the city and the rayon, judging from the second report, had evoked undisguised alarm in the group. The deputies' alarm becomes understandable when one learns the results of an economic analysis conducted by them.

The plan for production of manufactured goods was reduced by 3.8 percent last year, sales of output by 2.1 percent. Furthermore, the planned growth of labor productivity was not achieved for the third year in a row, and this is the keystone of modern economics. The

natural result: the growth of average monthly earnings at a number of enterprises is outstripping the growth of labor productivity. A direct route to bankruptcy!

Because of losses of work time not allowed by labor laws enterprises in the city and the rayon fell short by 1.5 million rubles in commercial output last year and the year before.

The construction workers have failed to apply 27 million rubles during the current five-year period.

Yields of the main agricultural crops are steadily dropping on farms of the rayon agroindustrial association. The output from the irrigated land is falling by the year. Furthermore, such modern and effective farming systems as leases and family contracts are not actually becoming widespread. Only 36 head of cattle and 796 sheep and goats were assigned to the family livestock-raising units last year, for example.

Why is all of this happening? There are many causes, of course. Neither the city nor the village soviets have actually made any attempt to take the situation under control. Furthermore, the deputies' intervention has sometimes had a reverse effect. For example, the fulfillment of plans and socialist commitments by the collective of a poultry farm were discussed in September of last year at a meeting of the Ispolkom of the Dagan Village Soviet. The situation at the farm has actually worsened since the discussion. The poultry flock has been reduced, and its productivity has decreased. The discussion was just a tribute to formality.

But what about the city soviet? This is why we altered the official procedure for reporting on the session. If the discussion had followed the speaker's report, we could not have expected any real results from the Presidium's recent out-of-town session.

The tenor of the report presented by V. Mirzoyev, chairman of the Ispolkom of the Kulyab Soviet of People's Deputies, focused—and this rapidly became clear to everyone—on affirming the galling traditions of the stagnation era. A certain militancy was even exhibited from the positions taken.

If there is a deterioration of economic indices, it is because the same tired old method of shifting responsibility is being used.

"In our opinion, the needs of the enterprises and organizations must receive the most serious of attention from the ministries to which they belong," the speaker said.

Is capital construction spinning its wheels? Once again, the beaten path of transferring problems to the visiting Presidium is used:

"We are taking advantage of the tribunal of the republic's highest state authority to request that the design and construction of the Kulyabstroy trust facility be accelerated.... Construction of the ceramic shop in Moskovskiy Rayon as well."

There were some serious proposals in the report by the gorispolkom chairman. One of them concerned compensating the Kolkhoz imeni Shatalov for land taken for state and individual construction projects. These were only occasional, however. It became clear that the speaker had chosen far from the best means of resolving pressing problems as soon as those taking part in the discussion of the report took the floor.

"You ask for help from outside," Presidium member M.M. Ikramov said. "But you forget your own fine models for capital construction. We are using them in Dushanbe, however, and the models we have taken from you are already producing good results."

"Yes, disruptions in the supply of construction materials, particularly cement, are not rare," G.F. Muravyev, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, acknowledged. "There are alternative methods for solving the problems, however. They make it possible to conserve a large quantity of construction materials. Cement, for example. Why do you not take a creative approach to the matter?"

Even the rejoinders heard in the hall reflected an attitude of dependency.

"Our vegetable stores do not operate during the daylight hours. They are closed. Why is this?" asked Presidium Deputy Chairman I.F. Dedov. He did not receive an intelligible answer.

"The market counters are bare. Even carrots have been hauled in from outside the oblast. What is the matter?" asked Presidium Secretary A.T. Kasymova. The answer was the sacramental "We'll clear that up."

"The situation is clear," I.Kh. Khalimov, first secretary of the Khatlon party obkom, said, summing up the discussion, as it were. "We need to work. The restructuring demands initiative of the Soviet worker. And that, it turns out, is what you lack. One has the impression that the leaders in the gorispolkom are morally unprepared to reform the political system."

And this was the main result of the out-of-town session. The presidium has assumed control over specific issues and peripheral problems, and it will help to resolve them. Only the city soviet itself can correct the main deficiency in its performance, however. The illness has been diagnosed. The resolution passed by the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet precisely defines it as "inertia." The formula for this inertia has been deduced, and the focus of the practical work of the city soviet of people's deputies has been defined accordingly.

**Interview Following the Event**

"In my opinion, the out-of-town session of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet has great prospects and is a promising work method for the highest agency of state power," A.M. Mirzoyev, chairman of the Khatlon Oblast Ispolkom, said in an interview with a Tajik News Agency correspondent. "Because of the highly representational participation in the Presidium's work, it is possible not only to get a complete picture of the state of

affairs and not only to reveal the roots of developments, but also to reach immediate agreement on a specific program of action and designate the people responsible for implementing it. This was actually the outcome of the discussion of the Kulyab situation. It was a lesson in efficiency. That is, it produced a modern model conforming to the spirit of the restructuring. I believe that it should be used frequently. I would be very happy for the members of the Presidium to come to our oblast as often as possible.



**Western Account of Tukhachevskiy Affair**  
18010142 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in  
Russian 18 Sep 88 p 4

[Article prepared by S. Kosterin in response to letter from G. Volozhanin of Moscow under rubric "Correspondence on Historical Topics": "The Tukhachevskiy Affair"; first paragraph is Volozhanin letter]

[Text] "Dear SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editors! It is not by chance that in our days a heightened and persistent interest has arisen in events which preceded the beginning of the Great Patriotic War and in our Army's enormous losses during the distressing days of the retreat. Now in accordance with party resolutions there is an active process to wipe out the 'blank spots' and new documents are being publicized shedding light on the true reasons for particular phenomena. I am interested in particular in the notorious 'affair' of Marshal Mikhail Nikolayevich Tukhachevskiy and prominent Soviet military leaders. I had occasion to hear that there is a large amount of literature on this question and there are rather serious and persuasive studies in the West. Would you find it possible to familiarize readers with this work?"

How could it happen that our best military cadres were annihilated on the eve of fascist aggression?

N. S. Khrushchev declared at the 22d party congress that through its intelligence service the leadership of Hitler Germany saw that fabricated document—"proof" of a plot headed by Marshal Tukhachevskiy and other prominent military leaders—as well as "information" about their collaboration with the Wehrmacht fell into Stalin's hands. Preparation of the dossier with "authentic" documents pursued the objective of playing on Stalin's negative qualities—his brutality, mistrustfulness and suspiciousness—and thus weakening the Red Army.

This "proof," supposedly secret documents, got into the hands of Czechoslovak President Benes, who sent them on to Stalin with good intentions.

Information about the "Tukhachevskiy affair" repeatedly appeared in the press during the 1950's and 1960's. Benes, Winston Churchill, and leading associates of fascist Germany's secret security service Wilhelm Hettl (Walter Hagen) and Walter Schellenberg mention this in their memoirs, but this subversion is not as simple as they present it.

Taking advantage of memoirs of state, political and military figures and the archives, West German historian J. Pfaff made a serious study and created a convincing version about how and by whom the "Tukhachevskiy affair" had been fabricated.

Today's article uses Pfaff's work and other documents presented to our editors by the VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL. They will be published in the next issues of this publication.

**Who is the Author?**

Much that was secret now has become clear, but in the prewar years both Nazis and imperialist figures were carefully concealing their true intentions. Fascism's objective was war and the enslavement of peoples of the Soviet Union. War against the USSR was maturing with imperialist nourishment in the bowels of fascist Germany. This naturally was carefully concealed but it was no secret for people who had dedicated themselves to military affairs. They included Marshal Mikhail Nikolayevich Tukhachevskiy and an entire galaxy of Soviet military leaders who had been tempered in the crucibles of military ordeals of World War I and the Civil War. They were perspicaciously preparing our Army for future ordeals and as individuals they themselves represented a formidable force against fascism. It was against them that one of the most significant and alas successful provocations of German fascism was organized.

Pfaff writes in his study: "It appears certain that in approximately mid-December 1936 Heydrich briefed Hitler on his plan to set in motion false documents which were to 'confirm' the existence of imaginary ties between Tukhachevskiy and the German General Staff."

In their memoirs Hagen and Schellenberg assert that Hitler approved this plan. In early 1937 Schellenberg received an order to draw up a study about the history of relationships between the Red Army and the Reichswehr, and after this came Heydrich's instruction on preparing false documents.

But as a rule memoirs are written later on the heels of what has been experienced, when there is an opportunity to touch up one's position, whitewash one's involvement, or distort the course of events. Hagen and Schellenberg are no exception. According to their version Heydrich allegedly demanded from Admiral Canaris, the head of counterintelligence, proof of relations between the two armies of Germany and the USSR during the period 1926-1932, proof for developing the fake documents against Tukhachevskiy. Canaris allegedly refused.

Then in the exposition of Hagen and Schellenberg there follows a fantastic criminal story in the cowboy spirit of how in a night raid on the counterintelligence archives Heydrich with the help of SS detachments seized the documents which Canaris allegedly refused to submit.

One other version was concocted and put in circulation about the involvement of "Soviet specialists" in manufacturing the fake documents, that all this was inspired by the NKVD, and that Heydrich and his staff allegedly performed only an intermediary and auxiliary role.

"To the contrary," writes Pfaff, "the version according to which Heydrich's people allegedly entered into contact with the Soviet Embassy in Berlin in order to offer the Soviet Union 'material' against Tukhachevskiy by the direct route and that later Stalin's representative was

sent from Moscow to Berlin to redeem these documents from the Germans for three million gold rubles is completely precluded. It is equally fully proven both in Soviet and in Czechoslovak documents that Benes alone sent Stalin the planted 'documents,' having received them directly from the Reich, and that although an important intermediary role fell to Wittig (more about him later), he was not the sole source."

The West German historian exposes the thesis of the "Soviet origin" of the fake documents by pointing out the doubtfulness of the time periods and the path by which the false documents got to Moscow. In his opinion, the fact that the "SD dossier" fell into the hands of representatives of the Soviet Union only in mid-May 1937 does not stand up to criticism since otherwise Tukhachevskiy could not have been removed from his posts on 11 May.

Then just what were the channels over which this "SD dossier" passed?

#### Masters of Intrigues

One has to do them justice—the fascist fanatics were not only torturers, but also very refined provocateurs who were able to spin a web of intrigues from afar. Their gamble was well-conceived and very likely unerring. It was a gamble on Czechoslovakia, which they later would occupy literally without a single shot being fired.

By that time Czechoslovakia and the USSR already had been linked for two years by a mutual assistance treaty. It was natural that Czechoslovakia, which both the fascist rulers and rulers of western countries viewed as a card in their big game, was ruled also by representatives of the bourgeoisie, particularly President Benes. Taking the interests of his country sincerely to heart, he carefully (any other way was impossible) followed the slightest changes in European politics, first a rapprochement, then a divergence in relations among countries, forecasting how all this would affect Czechoslovakia's destiny. Relations of the USSR and Germany were subjected to an especially careful analysis: the treaty with the USSR, the threat of aggression on the part of Germany. Ally and enemy. Czechoslovakia's diplomatic service was interested even in the most trivial details.

Was not the calculation of the fascist falsifiers built on this?

And so as early as April 1936 Czechoslovakia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs "learned" on a confidential basis from white emigres living in Prague about allegedly existing plans of the Soviet Army leadership directed against Stalin, after whose overthrow the plotters intended to establish friendly relations with Berlin and renounce the Soviet Union's obligations under the mutual assistance treaty with Czechoslovakia.

And further, on 12 October Goering told the Polish deputy minister of foreign affairs that Tukhachevskiy had stopped in Berlin on his return trip from London in February 1936 and tried to meet with Hitler and the Wehrmacht High Command. The clear calculation was that this disinformation would find a home in the intelligence circles of other countries.

In October the Prague police arrested Gestapo agents who were preparing to steal documents from the Soviet military attache in Prague. It is clear from a report of the presidium of the Prague police directorate to the presidium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that these agents asserted that the Soviet military attache allegedly was maintaining ties with German counterintelligence.

Pfaff writes that "not long before the 1936 Christmas holidays a report was delivered to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs from White Guard emigre Roman Smal-Stocki, a former Ukrainian envoy in Berlin who later lived in Warsaw, which justifiably forced Benes to fear a new Rapallo (as a result of news of the upcoming change of the German course with respect to the USSR). The report contained detailed information about a National Socialist plan to use subversive actions to cause a political coup in the Soviet Union with the wide involvement of Trotskyites as well as a number of ambitious high Red Army commanders even before conclusion of a treaty with Moscow."

Smal-Stocki's report contained the following information:

"Germany's chief task at the present time is to demoralize the USSR, cause an internal coup there, eliminate the communist government and place a national government in power which would conclude an alliance with Germany. Execution of the German plan will be prepared in the USSR by forces of the Gestapo, which are to involve not just Trotskyites in their action, but also other communist forces, especially in the army. The coup itself is to be accomplished by the Red Army."

#### "Catapult" Threat

But just what finally persuaded Czechoslovakia's diplomatic service and its President Benes nevertheless about the existence of a "military plot" and the threat of a rapprochement of the USSR and Germany?

Secret talks were held between Czechoslovakia and Germany in 1936, first in Prague and later in Berlin with Count Trautmannsdorf. Then Czechoslovak envoy Voitech Mastny hastily traveled from Berlin to Prague, but before that, on 9 February 1937, he informed Czechoslovak President Eduard Benes of the following in writing:

"Today I was visited by Count Trautmannsdorf and informed that a certain delay had occurred in talks regarding a treaty. The Reich Chancellor allegedly is very

dissatisfied over the publication of Seba's book about Russia and the Little Entente, which makes it clear as to how considerably Czechoslovakia is tied with Russia." (An explanatory digression must be made here. In the book "Russia and the Little Entente in World Politics" published in Prague in 1936 author Jan Seba, a Czechoslovak envoy in Bucharest, expressed regret over the defeat of Soviet troops in the Polish-Soviet War of 1920, which led to the fact that the Soviet Union did not have a common border with Czechoslovakia. In his opinion, the presence of such a border would have considerably facilitated Soviet military assistance to Czechoslovakia through the eastern regions of Poland. For this reason the book caused a big, albeit sometimes feigned, scandal and in 1937 the author had to be recalled from his diplomatic post.)

V. Mastny went on:

"For this reason the Reich Chancellor intends to postpone further talks with Czechoslovakia for 10-14 days until the Seba affair is clarified. This should not mean that Hitler has changed his position on this question, but merely assumes that the present moment is not favorable for this. I said that I will hardly be able to understand how Seba's book, on the basis of which propaganda artificially fabricated things against us about which the book says nothing at all, could affect the Reich Chancellor to such an extent, especially as there were statements from our side in which the president of the Republic personally explained the nature of our political treaty with Russia. At the same time I added that we, however, are left with nothing other than to take the aforementioned into consideration. . . .

"I declared that finally after detailed talks with Goebels, Funk and Rosenberg I do not understand at all how this campaign can continue specifically in a period of talks when just one single instruction of the Reich Chancellor would have been sufficient to stop these things, and that we were not contemplating such a 'musical accompaniment' for our talks after the Chancellor's initiative to establish personal contact with the president of the Republic. In an extremely polite manner Count Trautmannsdorf acknowledged my reproaches and statements as correct. Above all, with respect to the delay which has occurred, he reported (and simultaneously requested that this information be kept secret) that the real reason for the Chancellor's decision to postpone the talks is his supposition, based on certain information which he received from Russia, that a surprise coup was possible there soon which was to lead to the removal of Stalin and Litvinov and establishment of a military dictatorship. If this should occur then the Reich Chancellor allegedly would change his position with respect to Russia and would be ready at the same time to resolve all problems connected with Western and Eastern Europe, of course again by concluding bilateral treaties.

"I gave Count Trautmannsdorf an analysis of the situation in Russia as it seems to us together with serious doubts that a turn toward a military dictatorship and Stalin's removal would occur there. But at the same time I said that of course I do not know whether or not Prague has any kind of information of recent days, and if it does, then what kind."

Czechoslovak envoy Mastny submitted a detailed report about this very thing in Prague on 11 February to Minister of Foreign Affairs Krofta and President Benes, and on 13 February once again had a two-hour talk with the president.

It would appear that the Nazis continued to fool Mastny even further, strengthening his confidence as to the "validity" of "confidential" information received from Trautmannsdorf. The archives of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs have preserved the report of Czechoslovak envoy Voitech Mastny to Minister of Foreign Affairs Kamil Krofta of 20 March 1937. Here are the kinds of reflections he reported from Berlin to Prague:

"I am convinced that the sounding out of both emissaries was done on instruction of high Reich instances and pursued the objective of taking us out of a treaty system with Russia. I recall that back over a month ago I submitted a report according to which the Reich Chancellor allegedly had information about the possibility of a sudden and imminent coup in Russia and about the possibility of the removal of Stalin and Litvinov and establishment of a military dictatorship in Moscow, as a result of which there could occur a fundamental turn in German policy with respect to Russia; it is common knowledge that also with the present state of things there have been and still are sufficient sympathies in the German Army for this. As I know from a well informed source, Schacht also favors this; to an ever increasing extent he is experiencing a need to expand the scope of economic ties with Russia, which suffered heavily at the present stage as a result of Moscow's negative position. I was assured that right up until recently Hitler was rejecting Schacht's requests to achieve an improvement in economic ties with Russia as a result of some kind of changes in the position on political issues. But it is also known that Schulenburg, the German Ambassador in Moscow, recently was in Berlin and in connection with this it is assumed that the Reich Chancellor's new considerations regarding a change of all relations with Russia arose specifically also on the basis of information which Schulenburg carried from Moscow. Of course it is impossible to obtain more detailed information on this question, but it can be said with confidence that considerations relative to the possibility of any substantial turn in policy with respect to Russia also should have an effect in assessing the question of developing relations with Czechoslovakia and specifically the question of a possible treaty settlement of relations with us."



In his "Memoirs," published in Cologne in 1959, Walter Schellenberg just did not wish to raise the curtain even slightly over how the "SD dossier" got to President Benes. He contributed to wide dissemination of the version about how Benes swallowed the bait of the fascist fake document and that it allegedly went along the line of Hitler-Heydrich-German agent in Prague-Benes. Benes himself writes in postwar memoirs that he learned about Tikhachevskiy's "conspiratorial plans" from a conversation between Mastny and Trautmannsdorf, one of two emissaries at the secret German-Czechoslovak talks. After the death of Benes Trautmannsdorf repudiated this fact "indignantly."

Who put the fabrication, possibly even after Mastny's report, in the hands of the Czechoslovak intelligence services? Recently it was learned that the aforementioned German journalist Wittig could be that "confidential person" of the German special services. His contacts with Benes were intensive. A document—a letter to him from the president—is known in which gratitude is expressed for "services."

Relatively recently it was established that Karl Wittig, an agent of Germany's security service, maintained ties with the intelligence service of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was activated for disinformation. Along the way he also helped keep intelligence of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs monitored by fascist Germany's intelligence services. Karl Wittig (1901-1980) was arrested in the GDR in 1961 as a double agent and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. In 1970 the FRG government ransomed him for 80,000 West German marks.

Thus the majority of analysts are of the opinion that it was Wittig who was the intermediary instance of the subversive fascist dossier, although Count Trautmannsdorf also played a key role in all this.

The "dossier" prepared by the Nazis about Tikhachevskiy's ties with the German General Staff and its progress was kept such a secret that not even Germany's highest officials knew about the subversion being prepared. On 29 January 1937 German Ambassador to the USSR Count Schellenberg, who was not privy to the intrigue, assessed the official Soviet accusation about ties with Berlin of the "Trotskyites" (Radek, Pyatakov and others) indicted in January as a controversial maneuver aimed at morally discrediting the anti-Stalin opposition in Soviet society's eyes. Literally a day before Trautmannsdorf "dropped" the information on Mastny, the German Ambassador condemned rumors about a plot in the Red Army High Command "as purely fictitious conclusions from previous trials." He reported that there were no signs of tension in relations between Stalin and Tikhachevskiy as well as other generals.

Even a month after the Trautmannsdorf-Mastny conversation the German War Ministry categorically declared on the basis of intelligence that neither Tikhachevskiy

nor other Soviet generals were maintaining any ties with the Trotskyite opposition and were not thinking about a military plot against Stalin.

Moreover on 7 January 1938, already after what happened, von Tappelskirch, an adviser to the German Embassy in Moscow, reported the following to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin:

"As early as June 1937 after the execution of eight generals French Ambassador Coulondre asked Litvinov the question about how the charges of espionage for Germany against the generals should be assessed. Litvinov responded skillfully and evasively that it was the job of the court to give an assessment. He did not know the details, except those published in the court judgment, and it was hardly worthwhile to direct Coulondre's attention to the fact that in connection with their training in Germany and their sympathies the executed generals represented a Germanophile group in the Red Army leadership, elimination of whom logically should specifically benefit Franco-Soviet relations. Litvinov's reply could not persuade Coulondre. To the contrary, all ambassadors accredited to Moscow were firmly convinced that the charge of espionage did not conform to the truth.

"We firmly hold the opinion that the charges against the generals are only a pretext and that there never was an immediate or specific conspiracy. We continue to assume that Stalin removed the generals because they appeared suspicious to him because of their position, specifically along the line that they could become dangerous because of their influence on the Army's formation and as centers of the opposition's crystallization. It is fully possible that the actions against the generals are an affair or intrigue of the secret service of some state. Germany in itself had the right to continue to defend its previous position and not make serious denials to Soviet false charges inasmuch as we would not reach the objective which interests us from the political standpoint, specifically elimination of the Franco-Soviet treaty of alliance, by such denials..."

Yes, the Nazis worked subtly.

Historian Pfaff concludes:

"The bouquet of circumstantial evidence and reports increased to such an extent that it screened all false pictures and surrounded the thinking of Prague's political figures by the fiction of authenticity which would have stood up even in the face of any critical check. The contradiction that strikes the eye between the lengthy preparation, the seemingly promising course of talks of Germany emissaries with Benes and their unexpected cessation (cessation of the talks was announced in connection with the report of the upcoming coup in the Soviet Union and was substantiated by this), as it seems, permits considering the talks begun with Prague at Berlin's initiative to be a far-fetched chess move and a

trap which pursued exclusively only two things: on the one hand to slip Benes 'proof' against Tukhachevskiy and on the other hand to weaken the Soviet Army and artificially generate mistrust of Moscow on the part of the Prague and Paris governments."

And so the report of the Czechoslovak envoy and his wording about "Hitler's interest in catapulting us out of ties with Russia" did the job. It is tragic that Czechoslovak President Benes, who was attempting in his foreign policy to consistently implement provisions of the mutual assistance treaty concluded with the USSR, to a considerable extent assisted the affair of Tukhachevskiy's "plot" and the subsequent reprisal with him and other Soviet military leaders—Yakir, Uborevich, Putna, Eydeman, Kork, Feldman and Primakov.

On 7 May 1937 President Benes informed USSR Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Aleksandrovskiy in Prague about the "military plot" and on 8 May sent this material on in the form of a secret personal message to Stalin.

#### Irreparable Damage

On 11 May 1937 Marshal M. N. Tukhachevskiy was arrested on Stalin's order and on 11 June was shot by sentence of the court. This was the beginning of tyranny and repressions toward Red Army officer cadres. Marshal Tukhachevskiy's wife Nina Yevgenyevna and brothers Aleksandr and Nikolay subsequently were physically annihilated, also on Stalin's instruction. Three sisters were sent to camps. When a teenage daughter came of age she too was arrested. The mother and sister Sofya died in exile.

We consider it appropriate to extensively quote a number of documents in the final chapter which show and prove what irreparable damage Stalin's repressive policy inflicted on the Red Army and the country on the eve of war.

There was a report from the German Embassy in Paris on 17 June 1937 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin about reaction in France to the "Tukhachevskiy affair":

"In connection with the bloody sentence there is not a single newspaper, even the *POPULAIRE* (socialist) and in addition the openly Russophile *OEUVRE*, which would dare find a word of justification for the action itself. It is difficult to believe the substantiation of the sentence because of the enormity of the charge. Those newspapers which in their criticism at first presumed the charge to be correct are concluding from this that the Red Army's morale and combat effectiveness can be only lowered if such crimes are possible among the leadership.

"An article by General Morain appeared in the *JOURNAL* about his conversation with Tukhachevskiy, whom he called 'a major Russian weapons specialist.' In this talk Tukhachevskiy allegedly declared: 'I am not asking

you to talk about the equipment which you have; I know it very well. I would be especially grateful to you if you would inform me about the equipment which presently is being created and if possible about equipment on the drawing boards."

Czechoslovak envoy Bogdan Pavlu informed Minister of Foreign Affairs Kamil Krofta from Moscow on 20 June 1937:

"It seems it was a question of peace and war which decided Tukhachevskiy's fate once and for all in case Tukhachevskiy was attempting, as could be assumed, to attract people on the High Military Council and in high military or government circles to his side, and perhaps even in the Komintern, as indicated by the vigorous purge being conducted there in parallel. It is asserted that Stalin had the very same mistrust regarding all members of the Communist International."

And here is a later document. On 9 November 1937 Division Gen Bohumil Fiala, deputy chief of the Czechoslovak General Staff, reported to Chief of Military Intelligence Service Col Frantisek Moravec under a "Top Secret" classification:

"Brother Colonel!

"Along the line of our yesterday's talk I am sending you, for free official use, a survey of impressions which our military delegation brought back from a trip to the USSR at the end of last month.

"While at first our Supreme Command refused to accept the elimination of Tukhachevskiy and the Soviet High Command element as a serious loss for the Red Army and was convinced after the beginning of the purge that 'the Russian Army was experiencing a dismal stage but still has great strength,' our delegation sent to check the status of Red Army training returned with troubling results exceeding the most gloomy expectations.

"The stream of mass repressions—insofar as we were able to determine at least 2,000 officers have been executed—generates fears regarding the Army's internal demoralization and the weakening of its operational striking power as well as readiness for action; regarding its inability to conduct offensive operations; and further due to new young commanders in the rank of lieutenant who have become regimental commanders by the thousands, and majors who have become division commanders with no tactical or strategic experience. We ascertain a terrible weakness in the sphere of command and control, strategy and tactics; we further ascertain obsolete gear and a shortage of the equipment and arms which our Army already has had for a long while."

The beginning of the Great Patriotic War and the damage which our Armed Forces suffered in its first

stage showed the cost of the devastation of the Red Army high echelon by Stalin and his closest entourage on the eve of war.

The names of Marshal Mikhail Nikolayevich Tukhachevskiy and his associates have been cleaned by history

of the calumnies of lie and slander. They have taken their proper place in the rank of pioneer builders of our Army, their contribution to national defense is great and indisputable, and their make-up as Communists and Leninists is pure and bright.



**Problems in Formation of Working Class in Kirghizia Discussed**

18300020 Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 25 Aug 88 p 3

[Article by V. Yurlov, SOTSIOLOGICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA'S own correspondent in Frunze: "I Call You Brother. Letter from Kirghizia. Today a Discussion About the Formation of a National Detachment of the Working Class"]

[Text] Professor Kusein Isayevich Isayev is from the depths of Kirghizia, from a remote mining settlement of Talas Oblast. Recently he has undertaken a serious study of the problems of the working class.

"Both historically and politically, the working class is the leading force and reliable guarantor in the struggle for the ideas of internationalism," the professor says. "Its policy has as its basis the interests of fraternity and solidarity of the workers of the various nations."

In the context of the public life of the republic, these thoughts are heard today with an unprecedented urgency.

Already a long time ago, it became a commonplace that in prerevolutionary Kirghizia the workers numbered only about 1,500. There were practically no natives among them.

Ask any school child from Frunze and from a remote settlement, and he will tell you without fail that all of the peoples of the Country of the Soviets extended invaluable assistance in the formation of the working class of Kirghizia. Especially the working class of the Russian people. Its representatives participated directly in the socialist transformation of the republic.

The socio-political qualities of the Russian working class, K. Isayev believes, its views and morals have become a kind of social standard for the workers of Kirghizia. And it is natural that the Kirghiz people quickly became friends with the Russian people and linked its own fate with its fate.

And still another peculiarity. The working class of Kirghizia was formed from the very beginning as a multinational class and was brought up on the principles of internationalism and the friendship of peoples. And it has remained that way in our time. With the only difference that the national detachment of the working class during this time increased appreciably and began to constitute a third of its total number.

Progress, as they say, is present. But we will not be in a hurry with exclamation marks.

Until recently it was believed that the share of the indigenous nationality in the total population of the republic is 49 percent. And when last year at a scientific-practical conference it was heard that now it has surpassed 52 percent, there was animation in the hall.

It is not difficult to understand this reaction. The persons of the indigenous nationality have become greater in number than all the remaining ones, even taken together. Together with the Kirghiz, the Russians, the Uzbeks and the Dungan, in short, the representatives of all 80 nationalities living in the republic were filled with brotherly joy.

But the increase in the proportion of the indigenous nationality, as it were, illuminated another figure in a new light, a figure which previously was always pronounced with pride: 33 percent Kirghiz workers. Historically, of course, this is an achievement. And if one looks at it from the positions of today? Then it turns out that their share is significantly lower than the proportion of their nationality.

Incidentally, this "one-third" is also extremely indicative. As the result of the "measures" carried out in the 1960's, connected with the "concern" about the workers' stratum in the party, the toilers of sovkhozes, barbers, shoemakers, vendors, and other workers of the trade sphere and consumer services began to be included as workers. Not depreciating their merits in the least, I shall nevertheless risk noting that barbers and waiters should not determine the appearance of the working class. The old working hands are there—behind the entrance checkpoints of the industrial enterprises.

What do they have? I call the director of the Tyazhelektromash Plant, Sh. Maminu. Shamil Yakhiyayevich answers at once: 12 percent of the workers working at the plant are indigenous."

The director of the Kirgizelektrodvigatel Plant, A. Morozov, also is not slow in coming up with the answer: "Write 7 percent. Don't make a mistake." The same number—at the Frunze Instrument-Making Plant.

A boring business—these figures, but without them we cannot make do in our discussion: The freely enumerated enterprises can give an incorrect picture. Let us approach the problem from another direction. Statistics suggest: Per 1,000 workers in industry, the representatives of the indigenous nationality account for 226, in construction—210, and in the sphere of transportation and communication—300.

Industrial labor is the basis of all social transformations. Moreover, the social maturity of nations and nationalities, too, depends on the quantitative and qualitative growth of factory and plant workers, especially in large industry. Since I have not heard that this thesis has been

refuted by someone, I dare draw a conclusion: The bringing of the republic detachment of the working class to the corresponding ratio is one of the pressing and urgent problems.

Why are the representatives of the indigenous nationality reluctant to go the machines? There are quite a few opinions on this. We will discard as not serious and as smacking of chauvinism the reproach that the Kirghiz are not able and not willing to work. The idea of the special path of the Kirghiz—the return to the patriarchal old days—expressed in a whisper, also does not stand up to criticism. No one wants to move backward.

Closer to the truth is the adherence to the native home, traditions and customs. But for the acquisition of a worker's profession, it is necessary, in defiance of the way of life, to leave "the little home." This is a serious reason. But all the same a secondary one. Youths from Naryn go into the militia, the faculty of law cannot admit all those who apply from out-of-the-way places, and the institute of medicine does not complain about the lack of attention on the part of the youth.

These are prestigious professions. But the word "worker" is not heard among certain strata in Kirghizia. This is what Professor K. Isayev says:

"For decades the material and social well-being of the worker was determined in offices. A narrow circle of persons decided who was to receive bonuses, apartments and travel authorizations. In defiance of our social aims, the worker frequently turned out to be personally dependent on one or another administrator, who could give him an advantageous duty detail, help him to become a front-rank worker.

In my view, the professor precisely noticed the barrier in the path of the representatives of the indigenous nationality into the working class. The stagnant and negative processes in the economic, social and spiritual development of the republic were one of the main reasons for the many negative phenomena in the development of the working class. In speeches and slogans, all were for the securing of the leading role of the working class, but in reality its interests were ignored.

I glanced into the lists of the people waiting in line to receive housing in a number of ispolkoms. Among those in acute need, the workers are in the majority. But the ice, it seems, has begun to break. The "Housing" program is being realized in the republic. True, it is proceeding with difficulty, but there are improvements. What is more, the fact that managers have begun to receive apartments in the same houses as workers, and not in prestigious ones as previously, is attracting attention.

It is, of course, possible to entice a person into a plant with an apartment. Only this is half the work. The worker has to be trained. I recall in this connection a speech by the director of the Frunze Instrument-Building Plant imeni 50-letiya Kirgizkoy SSR, V. Ugarov.

"The cultivation of creative activeness, the morals and ideology of the working class," Viktor Ivanovich shared his thoughts, "is not simply the elimination of the 'white spots' remaining to us from previous times, but also regard for the national possibilities and traditions. Without a doubt, they objectively exist and exert influence on conduct and on the attitude to work, and they are reflected to a certain extent in initiative and social activeness. These factors must be considered in the training and upbringing of the worker, they require an individual approach to each one.

What peculiarities does the Kirghiz worker have? In vain I tormented the enterprise directors and scientists of the republic on this account. It turned out as in the children's story, where the failing student was asked how much you get if you add to one-half as much again. I feel that you get one, answered the failing student, but I cannot prove it. That is how it is here, all agreed that there is a rational core here, but they could not show it.

Even in the republic library the relevant literature could not be found. It would appear, no one in our republic is studying the questions of ethnic psychology. Add to this the fact that for a long time the formation of the Kirghiz nation was understood only as development along the line of education, science and culture, and that the creation of a national working class was allotted to secondary significance, and you will receive the sought-for answer.

But let us return to the ethnic peculiarities and their manifestation, more precisely, their disregard. In this case, I shall refer to the authority of Yu. Polyakov, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He said that ethnic psychology has not only scientific, but also applied significance. And he cited the example of Japan. It turns out that they precisely established what production skills are especially characteristic of the Japanese in general and of the inhabitants of certain regions in particular.

But can we substantiate something similar? What factors compel the Kirghiz to give preference to agriculture and light industry, the sphere of trade and consumer services? Answers are very much needed today. This does not mean, of course, that we have to limit the participation of these or those peoples in any activity, but does this really prevent us from knowing the preferences of the people, their habits and traditions? You see, they are different, and you cannot get away from this. Thus, it is necessary to make use of all traditional forms which different people have to stimulate common achievements. And in so doing, we must not lose sight of the fact

that Kirghiz young boys and girls enthusiastically go into modern and prestigious enterprises, where their knowledge, and not only their hands, find application.

Now is the very time to come down from the theoretical heights to the hospitable Kirghiz earth. Not long ago, a special issue of the news-reel *Karagoch*—of the "Fital" variety—was run before the showing of films in the theaters of Frunze. The film was devoted to the shortcomings in securing the wintering of cattle and sharply castigated the careless managers. In one of the episodes, the camera showed a group of young people on the farm, enthusiastically pulling a cow by the udder. The sense of the commentary was approximately the following: The graduates of one of the schools, having shown patriotic initiative, stayed to work on the native farm.

Sturdy lads! They have not chosen the easiest way to make a living. It occurred to me: The hands of these sympathetic young men and women are far more needed in the cities, where the industrial enterprises are experiencing an acute manpower shortage. But up to now the vocational guidance of the young people is not distinguished by soundness and systematic character. The "initiative" to go with the entire class to the shepherds, the farms and fields, is a striking example of the notorious volume approach to the distribution of manpower resources. There is a surplus of them in Kirghizia. And if somewhere in the Non-Chernozem Zone an appeal for the entire class to stay on the kolkhoz has the ring of urgency, in Kirghizia—it is the mockery of common sense.

I tried to clarify in the Republic State Committee on Statistics the manpower surplus from the point of view of the territory and taking into account the prospects of the economy, the distribution of productive forces, and the changes in the demographic situation. I did not get anywhere. They confused the head with the secrecy of data and after long calculations reported that there actually is a surplus: 52,000 old men. When I tried to be indignant, they politely advised me to go and look for this figure in Moscow. I went—140,000 people.

It is impossible to say that there is no outflow from Kirghiz villages. A migration from the rural to the city locality is under way and now and then increases and constitutes a considerable share of all shifts. Last year, for example, 39,000 persons left the villages for cities. What is their fate? The directors of industrial enterprises have not noticed such an influx. In the State Committee

on Statistics they also do not know where they have dispersed. The reasons for the internal migration were studied for the last time 18 years ago.

External migration has an appreciable effect on the condition of the working class. The secretary of the party committee of the Mayli-Say Electric Lamp Plant imeni 50-letiy SSSR, V. Artamonov, says:

"In recent years the outflow of experienced workers and specialists from the plant to outside the bounds of the republic. Russians, Germans and Ukrainians constituted 72.8 percent. Basically these were local residents or arrivals from the RSFSR. Now their share has decreased to 49.5 percent."

During the past 7 years, the negative balance in external migration came to 77,000 people. The sources of the reasons must be sought not only in the recent past, when the principles of social justice were violated, but also in the present time. In order to arrest this process, time is required. The outflow of skilled workers from Kirghizia, in the opinion of Doctor of Economics N. Kumska, already now has a negative influence on production.

77,000 people is not a solid mass. How many highly professional lathe operators, fitters, seamstresses, metal-makers and builders were among them? Why did they leave? The answer even to these questions I did not find anywhere. The official organs do not know. That which I succeeded in obtaining from the departing persons near the entrance check-points and the personnel offices does not claim to be scientific: The internationality relations in the republic have become strained. But it is impossible not to take these explanations into account.

I understand that the regulation of migration processes is a very delicate matter. The attempts of mechanically shifting or keeping workers in place were frequently unsuccessful and, besides disappointment, did not bring anything. There is a great deal which is unclear here up to now. But someone should look into this?

In the republic they suggest that by the year 2000 persons belonging to the indigenous nationality will provide more than 80 percent of the increase of labor resources. Resources, as we already know, are not yet real working hands. It turns out, the problem of the formation of a national working class is becoming still more aggravated. However, for the time being it is not evident that the republic Gosplan, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the local party and Soviet organs have realized the full political and social acuteness of this problem.



**Armenian 1st Secretary Arutyunyan on 11 October Meeting in NKAO**

18300096 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
15 Oct 88 pp 1-2

[Armenpress interview with Armenian CP CC Secretary S.G. Arutyunyan: "Meetings in Nagorny Karabakh"; date and place not given]

[Text] As already reported, a meeting took place in Stepanakert on 11 October between Armenian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary S.G. Arutyunyan and Azerbaijan CP Central Committee First Secretary A.Kh. Vezirov. Also taking part were A. Volskiy, a representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and G.A. Pogoyan, Nagorny Karabakh party obkom first secretary. Upon returning from Stepanakert, an Armenpress correspondent met with Armenian CP Central Committee First Secretary S.G. Arutyunyan, and asked him to respond to a number of questions.

[Question] Suren Gurgenevich, this makes your second trip to Nagorny Karabakh. TASS has reported on the purpose of your trip. What are your impressions of the current trip?

[S.G. Arutyunyan] In the complex situation which has taken shape in the region, where unfortunately a shadow of alienation has fallen over the interrelations of the two neighboring peoples, where problems spring up almost daily, regular meetings of the representatives of the republic leadership are especially needed. Such meetings are becoming traditional. This is already our third meeting with Azerbaijan CP Central Committee First Secretary A.Kh. Vezirov, and the second on the land of Artsakh.

My impressions? I have many. And one could speak of them at length. But the word "impressions" is unable to take in and reflect in all its depth the gamut of feelings, and the moving emotion that one feels each time one treads on that ancient land. You see for us, Armenians, Nagorny Karabakh and Artsakh are not simply a historical or geographical concept: that is where a proud and wise people has been living for centuries and still lives today—our fellow countrymen, who earn their daily, their spiritual bread by the sweat of their brow. But if you nevertheless want to compare my current trip to Stepanakert with the one in July the first thing that strikes one is the smiles which have appeared on the people's faces, which nevertheless cannot hide their weariness and alarm. But the main thing is that the people have become more confident and their mood is more optimistic; the people of Karabakh, however, are not taking up these qualities.

[Question] It was reported in the mass information media that during the meetings special attention was devoted to examining the course of carrying out the decree of the

CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on Nagorny Karabakh. Would it be possible for one to find out more details on what our republic is doing to carry out the decree of the party and government?

[S.G. Arutyunyan] Of course. I have already stated, and take the liberty to repeat once again, that it is time for all of us to make a change, so to speak, from platonic patriotism to an active patriotism, to practical matters. And I have been convinced once again that our help is urgently needed in Nagorny Karabakh. Improving the working people's quality of life, and the socio-economic and cultural development of the oblast—these are not obstacles; on the contrary, they are the prerequisite, and a very urgent one, for solving all the problems of Nagorny Karabakh. And while certain impatient and overly "temperamental" orators have been holding forth at their meeting place on Theater Square and pouring out their ill-considered rhetoric and altogether thoughtless actions; while they have been trying to "reap what they have not sown and gather in what they have not planted"—in many working collectives and creative organizations in the republic, initiatives have been born and ideas have matured, and everyday routine work has been carried on to render genuine—and I stress, genuine—assistance to our fellow countrymen, Artsakhites. True patriotism, you see, can get along without excess verbiage and slogans.

The specific tasks for the ministries and departments of the Armenian SSR on implementing the measures and missions stipulated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures for Accelerating the Socio-economic Development of the Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR in the Years 1988-1995," are defined in a special decree of the Armenian CP Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers. Today we can speak of the realization of a certain amount of work.

As you already know, on 1 May 1988, a 100-watt television transmitter was put into operation in NKAO, and now the citizens of Stepanakert, Shushinskiy Rayon and certain populated places in Askeranskiy Rayon can watch broadcasts of the First Program of Armenian television. In addition, in Martuninskiy Rayon, near the village of Charter, a relay station has been installed which permits receiving the broadcasts of the First Program of our television in 35 villages in that rayon.

Broadcast of Armenian radio programs has been set up via a radio-relay system in the city of Stepanakert. A new post road has been organized between Yerevan, Goris and Stepanakert which provides for exchange of parcel and postal correspondence and the issuing of stamps. The number of direct inter-city telephone channels between Yerevan and Stepanakert has been increased, and with Mardakert, Gadрут and Askeran as well.

The Armenian SSR Ministry of Communication, together with the State Planning Institute of the USSR Ministry of Communication, has undertaken survey work for planning radio-relay lines between Shusha, Martuni and Gadрут, and from Shusha to Marda, Mets-shen and Aterk, which is to be completed at the end of this year. Construction and installation work will be carried out in 1989.

[Question] Thus, communication will be beefed up and will become more reliable—and not only spiritual communication...

[S.G. Arutyunyan] The spiritual contacts between Nagornyy Karabakh and Soviet Armenia never were interrupted, under no circumstances; in spite of certain obstacles...

[Question] And these obstacles were there both in the years of the personality cult and during the stagnation years...

[S.G. Arutyunyan] That's right. But at present the Armenian SSR can participate most directly in strengthening the material base of culture and education in the NKAO. For example, as early as March of 1988 the Armenian SSR State Committee on Publishing sent to Nagornyy Karabakh nearly 40,000 books, including artistic, sociopolitical, academic-methodological, popular-scientific, and of course, children's literature. In August of this year, copies of 56 entire textbooks were sent to Nagornyy Karabakh for its academic institutions. Nor have the libraries gone unnoticed. During the first half of 1988, the Aygrika Central Distribution Center sent 50,000 rubles' worth of literature on orders from the NKAO Central Library System. This was only one facet of the cultural and intellectual interaction. And, you see, they now have the capability of developing both in breadth and in depth. But everything depends to a considerable degree on us, ourselves.

[Question] There has been ardent discussion of late among broad circles of the public of the question of preserving the cultural and historical monuments located on the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR; on the participation of Armenian specialists and masters in restoration work; and of difficulties which have allegedly arisen...

[S.G. Arutyunyan] Such difficulties, if they do arise, are completely surmountable. I am more than convinced of this. And these problems are not outside the field of vision of the republic's leaders.

[Question] It is well-known that one of the most acute problems for the NKAO is construction of housing and projects for socio-cultural purposes. And, there are many unresolved problems in road-building. What are we doing in this sector?

[S.G. Arutyunyan] A meeting was held in Stepanakert on 25 August 1988 on questions of construction in the NKAO. The meeting was chaired by A.I. Volskiy, a representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; also taking part were USSR Gosstroy Deputy Chairman Yu.L. Nazarov and the deputy chairmen of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR Councils of Ministers. In accordance with the adopted decision, which was approved by the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Armgiprotrans, survey and design work has begun on the highway from Goris to Stepanakert, bypassing the city of Lachin. Construction of this sector of the highway was entrusted to the Armtransstroy Trust. An alternative route was examined for the highway from Zod—the border of Azerbaijan SSR—to the village of Oktyabrskend—and the highway from Kelbadzhar to Mardakert, for a distance of 25-30 km.

As you have properly noted, the question of housing construction is especially critical in the NKAO. This task has become exceedingly acute in connection with the problem of housing the refugees who arrived after the tragic events in Sumgait from various cities and settlements in Azerbaijan. And although construction is presently task number one for our republic as well, we do not have the moral right to remain on the sidelines of the problems of our brothers from Nagornyy Karabakh. And so the Armenian SSR Gosstroy has taken steps to provide two nine-story apartment houses in Stepanakert, on a sub-contractor basis. The schedule for deliveries in 1989 envisages allocating two more prefabricated, nine-story buildings and provides for their installation work as well. Planning work is being done and construction of concrete forms has commenced for construction of three buildings using poured concrete; blueprints were provided by ArmNIISA. Planning and budgeting work is under way for construction of a Palace of Culture, for a Pioneer building and for a city library in Stepanakert.

The Armenian SSR Ministry of Highway Construction and Maintenance has begun highway construction work on a subcontractor basis, at a rate of two million rubles a year. Assistance will be rendered in building bridges of ferro-concrete construction.

Armenian SSR Gosstroy has set up construction administrations at Araratpromstroy for carrying out construction and installation work in NKAO, which will complete up to 10,000 square meters of housing per year, as well as school buildings for 1,000 pupils and kindergartens for 300 children. A physical culture and health complex will be built in 1989.

[Question] No doubt other ministries, departments and industrial enterprises have not been standing idly by in this patriotic movement?

[S.G. Arutyunyan] Certainly not. For example, the Armenian SSR Ministry of Light Industry is actively rendering methodological and technical assistance to

related enterprises of NKAO for developing production and for introduction of new equipment and technology. The republic Ministry of Local Industry has prepared engineering documentation for construction of a ceramics and pottery plant using local raw materials in Gadutskiy Rayon of NKAO. Home manufacture of hand-made carpets is being organized. In Mardakertskiy Rayon, the Armenian SSR Ministry of Bakery Products has organized production of Armenian national bread, with a capacity of 10 tons per day. Two special lines are being set up for production of bread and pastry articles, and will be installed in the near future.

The ministries, departments and enterprises of the Armenian SSR are rendering practical assistance to the oblast ispolkom in organizing cooperatives for production of consumer goods.

Enterprises of the republic's agro-industrial complex are examining and resolving questions on rendering assistance in working out the technologies of producing national kinds of meat and dairy products.

Collectives and enterprises of the chemical, machine-building, and electrical equipment industries of Yerevan have expressed their readiness to render practical assistance to the industrial enterprises of Nagornyy Karabakh in developing new manufactures, in installation and set-up of technical equipment and non-standard instruments, and in doing repair work.

As you can see, quite a bit has been done, although it is impossible to enumerate everything here. But the very volume of the work that has been done reveals the scope of the work to come.

**[Question] And so, during your meeting in Stepanakert you talked about all this?**

[S.G. Arutyunyan] And not only that. Everything that we are doing or are planning to do in Nagornyy Karabakh must be viewed through the prism of the stormy events of February to October, and events which took place 70 years ago, in a context of the tense situation which came to pass in the region. In this situation one must seek sensible ways of compromise to solve the problems, and meet the other side half-way. Our nations must live as good neighbors (and not only in a geographical sense); they must live in friendship. Alienation and enmity are an aimless path in the desert. We must find that one path which will lead both nations—the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis—out of this desert, and to an oasis of life, creativity and perestroika.

**[Question] What other meetings did you have in the land of Artsakh?**

[S.G. Arutyunyan] Immediately following the formalities of our meeting at the Obkom, we, along with Nagorno-Karabakh party Obkom First Secretary G.A. Pogosyan, and R.Ya. Akopyan, who is a candidate

member of the Armenian CP Central Committee and chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, set off for the Stepanakert condenser plant.

After the interruption brought about by the strike, the shop here was once again a lively place. The people had returned to work, realizing that the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh can be resolved only in a peaceful situation, working for the good of the Motherland, both the great and the small. And it was a strange feeling; it seemed to me as if I were in Armenia—the very same eyes, the very same faces, the very same questions...

**[Question] The workers at the plant, and the residents of the village of Noragyukh as well, also spoke of the profound impression your recent appearance of Armenian TV had on them...**

[S.G. Arutyunyan] At the Stepanakert condenser plant I became acquainted with sober-thinking people who were concerned with the fate of their region, with the fate of democratization and perestroika, with the fate of the friendship of the nations. The meeting at the condenser plant was a moving one and I shall long remember it.

Later we went to the village of Noratyukh in Askeranskiy Rayon. The road, incidentally, passed through the village of Khodzhal. There was nothing here to remind one of the dramatic events of 18 September. Only the name of the village... An improvised meeting with the residents was also set up in front of the board of supervisors of the Akhtanak Kolkhoz in the village of Noratyukh. Once again, the questions—at times not very thoughtful ones, at times controversial ones. And there were questions which also contained a veiled response...

These were real Armenian farmers—a bit romantic, but always wise.

**[Question] And what kind of problems do the people of Artsakh find most disturbing?**

[S.G. Arutyunyan] Well, above all, the people whom I saw, both at the condenser plant and at the Akhtanak Kolkhoz, just like all the Armenians I met with at any other place, are disturbed not simply by problems, but by the Problem. All the rest are simply derivative. The questions varied widely. Why, for example, is the trial of the Sumgait offenders being dragged out? What has been found out in the matter of the mass contamination at the Masis branch of the Garun PShO? Why have the mass information media been so biased and superficial in their treatment of the "events in Nagornyy Karabakh and around it"?

There were also suggestions which, in my view, deserve consideration. For example, Petrosyan, a worker at the condenser plant, suggested a direct telecommunication link from Moscow to Stepanakert, Baku and Yerevan, for the purpose of providing objective information to the nation's citizens.



It was suggested that a branch of the Yerevan State University be set up in Stepanakert; that a road be built from Goris to Stepanakert, bypassing the city of Lachin (I've already said that this question is being resolved). The chairman of the Akhtanak Kolkhoz, while describing the successes of his farm, asked to render assistance in the construction of a Palace of Culture. And I recall the emotional words of S. Mkrtumyan, a worker, who asked me to tell his countrymen in Armenia that the problems of Nagornyy Karabakh cannot be solved by hunger strikes and by balancing on the brink of a precipice. The nation lives and continues to live not by tragedies, but by the laughter of a child. I am reminded of the penetrating words of a mother of seven children, one of whom served in Afghanistan, S. Aslanyan, a dairy worker with 30 year's experience.

In a word, the day I spent in Nagornyy Karabakh was extremely beneficial.

During the meeting with Azerbaijan CP Central Committee First Secretary A. Kh. Vezirov, in which A.I. Volskiy, the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and G.A. Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom also took part, questions were discussed which were of concern to both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani people. And, it seems to me, that we took yet another step in the right direction.

#### **First Secretary on Armenian Komsomol Activities During NKAO Crisis**

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[Article by G. Akopyan, first secretary of the ArSSR Komsomol Central Committee: "The More Truth There Is, the More Belief There Will Be"]

[Text] Our republic has been going through complex, difficult times for approximately eight months now. The turbulent, disturbing and unforeseen turn of events has had a particularly strong effect on the spirits of young people. And that is only natural, as the "Karabakh question" has aroused people's social activism, especially young people's, like a powerful catalyst. In this bubbling cauldron we must be able to keep a clear head and not let our emotions run away with us. We must learn every day and every hour how to orient ourselves correctly in this situation, learn democracy and learn how to listen to and hear one another. "Our strength is in conviction and in active truth," stated S. G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the ArSSR CP Central Committee, in a speech broadcast by Armenian Television on 8 October 1988. "We on the Central Committee are completely in favor of broad humanization of relations with people. We proclaimed this course at the September Plenum of the ArSSR CP Central Committee. At this time I would once again like to repeat what I said at that plenum: we

extend our hand to everyone whose heart and mind is filled with concern for the people and for the affairs of our republic, to everyone who favors renewal."

Sober realization of what has happened and comprehension of the justness of the people's demands also served as a basis for certain steps at the highest level of government aimed at resolving the "Karabakh question" fairly. For the first time in the 68 years of Soviet power in Armenia its highest state organ, the republic Supreme Soviet, passed this historic resolution on 15 June of this year: it gave consent for the reunification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. This decision was followed by a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 July; the decisions of that meeting were equally historic, as this was the first time that the nationalities problem had been raised so acutely at the union and state level. A special USSR Supreme Soviet commission was established to study the problem from all sides and consider this complex interethnic problem. "No issue can ever be considered resolved once and for all," said Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in a speech to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 July. "Any issue has its own dynamics and development, and this applies to the issue of ethnic relations as well."

The ArSSR CP Central Committee and the republic government, considering the demands and needs of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh and guided by the well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution, undertook a number of comprehensive measures designed to aid Nagorno-Karabakh in its social, economic and cultural development and to strengthen integrative ties with the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. There is probably not a single enterprise or institution in Armenia today which is not participating in this program. The numerous families of refugees from Sumgait and the questions of how to house, supply and employ them are the subject of constant attention by our republic. This is a manifestation of genuine patriotism and concern over the situation that has come about.

The calls being heard today at rallies for an unbiased, uncompromising trial of the criminals of Sumgait are also just; the court should hold them accountable to the fullest extent of the law, both in a legal and a human sense. It is essential that we bring the investigation of the events which occurred at the airport and in Masisskiy Rayon to a swift conclusion. To do this we need glasnost and a state approach. And I should note that the Armenian CP Central Committee is working on these matters daily.

Young people should do everything they can to support and approve the decisions of our government concerning bonuses for persons wishing to go work in Karabakh on a temporary basis. I appeal to everyone who can to respond to this appeal!



Today we must self-critically admit that during those difficult days not all Komsomol workers proved equal to the task they faced. Some Komsomol leaders took a wait-and-see attitude, remaining passive observers who at times were unwilling to get to the heart of the problem; this affected their standing with their Komsomol members in a very negative way, as for example occurred in the case of the secretary of the Komsomol committee of the Yerevan Research Institute for Mathematics and Mechanics. Also evident was their inability to convince people with simple yet effective words, precise conclusions and sound argumentation. You will agree that our lack of experience with this kind of extreme situations and our inability to orient ourselves quickly has been very evident during these months.

I need to say a word about a number of actions taken by the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee. These include the collection of books—Armenian-language fiction and textbooks—to be sent to Karabakh and the purchase of athletic equipment for schools in the NKAO. Children from families of Sumgait refugees will long remember the warm, sincere meetings with young creative workers and journalists, and the gifts. Pioneers and school children from Nagorno-Karabakh spent their summer vacation in scenic parts of Armenia. Student units from Armenia worked in the NKAO for the first time.

The present popular movement has become possible only as a result of the policy of glasnost and democratization carried out by the party. Our voices have been heard and heeded. Whereas previously, during the so-called time of stagnation, we were afraid to mention the problems of our brothers and sisters in Karabakh, today we have been given an opportunity to be real participants in efforts to solve those problems. We need to interpret patriotism in a rational manner, express it through concrete actions, have a strong economy and well-developed science and culture and reject anything that threatens people's health and well-being.

We have a hand in amazing accomplishments; now realism, sobriety and courage have prevailed in our evaluation of both the present and the past. Today we are correcting mistakes made in the time of Stalin and Beria. We have already come to the point where it is possible for a person to act the way he thinks and think the way he acts. Unity of words and actions is the cornerstone of restructuring, democratization and glasnost, the most difficult processes that Soviet society is undergoing. Democratization and glasnost have made it possible for us to bring up a pressing problem and seek ways of solving it. This involves pluralism of opinion and the ability to listen not only to one's own truth, but to others' as well.

And we, though rightfully proud of our ancient culture, for the sake of our past and our future must not, do not have a right to, permit unforgivable slips of the tongue or irresponsible statements which do not do honor to our people. What is worse, they discredit us.

The "Karabakh question" has been the touchstone that has brought in its wake a virtual avalanche of acute social, economic and ecological problems that our republic must now resolve. This means not just more acute ethnic self-awareness, but also a keener sense of social injustice (especially strong among young people), a higher degree of ecological danger, etc.

We must unite our efforts and consolidate in order to solve all the problems that are of concern to us. Who can measure the degree of one's patriotism? Who has the right to divide our people into categories of "patriot" and "non-patriot"? A people divided on this basis cannot be strong. Patriotism should be demonstrated through unity and above all through action: work, study, scientific discoveries, etc.

Without concrete actions we will not be able to implement the radical economic and political reform for which a foundation was laid by the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and, of course, the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The recent September Plenum of the ArSSR CP Central Committee was a milestone for our republic in terms of a turnaround in the direction of performance of the tasks outlined by the party. That plenum outlined the strategic tasks and orientations of our work. At the same time it illustrated how each person should begin restructuring with himself, with an evaluation of his own work and his own contribution to the common cause.

In our analysis of the present state of Komsomol work we must self-critically acknowledge that that work still carries the burden of the stagnation period. Although in my opinion this is not exclusively the Komsomol's fault. The problem is the official policy with regard to young people that has been pursued in past decades and which is rooted in the practice of shutting young people out of political affairs, a practice that originated in the 1930's. Despite that fact that much has always been said about young people and their problems and that they were always in a sort of "special attention zone," words were not backed up by action; in actuality neither the Komsomol nor young people themselves had any real opportunities to resolve their own problems or defend their positions and thus demonstrate their political and civic activism. A public opinion survey conducted by a research institute of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School following the 27th CPSU Congress indicated that young people's mood had taken a marked change for the better; 73 percent of the young people surveyed commented that their faith in realization of our ideals had grown stronger.

An identical picture also emerges from observations taken in our republic. Yet there are still young people who have not gotten actively involved in the restructuring process. What do we feel are the reasons for this? In many areas we are still seeing a nitpicking and at times intentional petty tutelage of young people from every

side, protectionism on the part of adults and efforts to protect one's own well-protected niche at any expense, at the same time squelching all efforts at independence and initiative. We also must deal with the results of phenomena among some young people like parasitism, apathy and civic indifference, on the one hand, and calculating careerism and toadyism, on the other.

"Sometimes we forget about the essence of the party approach, about trust in young people, about testing them through specific actions, about creating the proper conditions for young men and women to become actual participants in restructuring," noted S. G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the ArSSR CP Central Committee in his report to the September 1988 Central Committee Plenum. "Many Komsomol committees are not taking an in-depth look at the complex processes which are occurring among young people and are merely creating paperwork and holding meetings, to the detriment of work with people."

Well stated! Unfortunately, since the 20th Komsomol Congress not all Komsomol organizations have become fully cognizant of the broad rights granted to them in terms of independent, active operations and often take a wait-and-see attitude, or else conceal their own lack of substance by citing alleged guidelines and instructions "from higher up." Who should take into consideration young people's interests and wishes if not primary Komsomol branches, which are directly elected by young people? Or else they may say: something is wrong, we cannot deny it, but it is the Central Committee's fault! I would like to stress that, firstly, we regard coordination of solutions to universal problems pertaining to young people in conjunction with party, state, soviet, trade union and other public organizations in our republic as the primary functions of the Komsomol Central Committee. Secondly, its function is to aid the 6,725 primary Komsomol organizations in our republic by uncovering and generalizing progressive approaches to Komsomol work and communist construction.

Currently the Komsomol deals with virtually everything—the best proof of that is the mail received by the republic Komsomol Central Committee. We are asked to intervene in economic matters, housing matters, cadre matters; people ask us to find them jobs, help them establish cooperatives, even intervene in court cases and much more. But there is simply not enough of the Komsomol to do all these things. Nor should there be, because many of these matters fall under the jurisdiction of soviet, economic and administrative organs.

One of the important documents adopted at the 19th All-Union Party Conference was a reform of the political system as the most important guarantee that restructuring will become irreversible. The main points in this reform are further democratization of Soviet society, involvement of the broadest possible range of social groups in the process of production administration and increases in people's political and social activism.

On these points the most active role is to be played by the Komsomol and young people. V. I. Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, said, addressing the 19th Party Conference: "We reckon thus: there should always be a little bit more democracy, glasnost and social justice than in society at large or in any other organization, because we are a youth organization."

Glasnost is a weapon of social justice. But it also means full information at the end of your shift about how much you have earned, how much was produced of what things, and how much was conserved of what things. Yet the majority of people never stop and think as they leave their work places: how much benefit was I today to my brigade, shop or plant? Could I perhaps have done a better job? It also means involvement of students in setting the budget of their educational institutions, creating the curriculum, etc.

Finally, glasnost is the introduction of elections at all levels of state and political power, among Komsomol staff members as well. What have we accomplished in this direction thus far? Firstly, starting with the last election-accounting campaign multiple candidacies became the rule in elections for the positions of ArSSR Komsomol gorkom and raykom secretaries and secretaries of Komsomol committees. Primary Komsomol organizations have been granted broad rights and opportunities to nominate and elect their own Komsomol leaders. They are directly accountable to the Komsomol members who entrusted them with the political leadership of young people.

Secondly, we have relieved our nomenklatura of the duty of nominating and appointing Komsomol leaders and secretaries "from above." These should be selected by Komsomol members themselves. We will retain a consultative vote.

I recall that during the initial months of my work as ArSSR Komsomol first secretary I began my working day with a two-hour session with the personal files of candidates for Komsomol staff positions. This was a waste of time, what we call a "paperbound" work style.

And there is more: after a review conducted in June 1987 over 900 positions were dropped from the nomenklatura of the ArSSR Komsomol Central Committee. I think this fact speaks for itself. The smaller the size of the apparatus staff, the less bureaucratic red tape there will be. That is precisely why we are considering a review of the structure of the Central Committee apparatus, abolishment of the practice of division into departments and a 30-percent reduction in staff size.

Under conditions of the present restructuring of Komsomol work structural reorganization will provide a reliable barrier to prevent bureaucrats and careerists

from entering the Komsomol; we can no longer tolerate them in our ranks. A bureaucrat is, I am firmly convinced, a hopelessly "old" individual, regardless of his age.

In his work "The State and the Revolution," written in 1917, Lenin underscored the fact that he regarded bureaucracy as a highly dangerous threat to socialism.

There are no young bureaucrats, because the sluggishness of the bureaucratic mind is foreign to youth. However, we must regretfully acknowledge that for some people Komsomol work is a convenient and guaranteed springboard to a future career. Thus the development of a clear-cut democratic mechanism to protect against bureaucracy within the Komsomol is essential. We must rid ourselves of the external attributes of the bureaucratized worker, the one who looks down on the crowd "from on high," wearing his ubiquitous suit and tie no matter how hot the day.

What sort of bureaucratic fashion is this? What sort of "Komsomol" label (incidentally, no one ordained it)? Cleanliness and neatness without extravagance are understandable and reasonable. Thirdly, in order to rid the Komsomol of half-hearted people we have for the first time introduced the practice of annual certification of Komsomol workers. Approximately 50 Komsomol workers have failed this "exam."

Nevertheless, I would make the human factor the primary criterion in the selection of Komsomol cadres. The human factor means the ability to be a human being in all situations—at work, in everyday life, in contacts with people, showing kindness and sincerity, simplicity and humanism, a sense of internationalism and honest patriotism. Because attention to the individual is the Komsomol worker's motto.

As we work to "heal" the Komsomol we must rid ourselves of comrades who are not above cunning, pettiness, calculation and envy, indifference and lying, deception and careerism. We must fully restore the Leninist principle of cadre selection. We must tackle this task seriously and through common efforts.

The decisive orientation of political reform is ensuring that soviets of people's deputies have full authority as the foundations of the socialist state system and socialist self-government in our country. In order to guarantee itself real rights and independence and defend the interests of its members, the Komsomol and young people must fight for broad representation on soviets of people's deputies.

"Leadership in local matters," state materials from the 19th All-Union Party Conference, "should be reorganized on the principle of self-government, self-financing, self-supply and coordination of regional interests with the interests of the state as a whole." Finally, it must be understood that the concerns and problems of young

people, just like the task of educating the next generation, are not merely a Komsomol matter. They are of concern to the people and the state as a whole. This approach should become the basic approach in view of the Law on Young People currently being drawn up.

It is encouraging to note that today more confidence is being placed in young people. Yet at the same time confidence is not placed in us on a matter like the acceptance of Komsomol members into the party. It seems to be ordained that the party raykom sends down a personal questionnaire on some individual and then the Komsomol organization merely does the paperwork. Would it not be more appropriate in the case of party membership to nominate a number of worthy candidates and discuss and openly choose the most worthy of them? Command-administrative habits in relations with the Komsomol at the local level are also evident in the fact that joint meetings of party and Komsomol organizations have not become the norm, although this democratic form of party leadership of the Komsomol is worthy of attention. Or consider young people's participation in the functioning of labor collective councils.

In this area we must achieve substantive, continuous representation of young people on these councils. Else we will have a situation in which nomination of labor collective council members will proceed according to the mechanistic principle of "experienced—inexperienced," "long work record—short work record." This overlooks the most important thing: the need to nominate young workers and specialists, future production leaders, and to train them among workers, in the collective. In my opinion this is hampered quite simply by the customary and unfortunately persistent stereotypical attitude toward participation by young people in the administrative apparatus. Thus on the Kanaz, for example, where young people comprise 30 percent of the blue-collar workers and engineering personnel, there is only one young person on the labor collective council. Not to mention the fact that this kind of purely formalistic attention to the interests of young people is an outright violation of the democratic principle.

We are also concerned by the fact that young people are not always boldly promoted to independent jobs. Is it not a lack of confidence in young people that accounts for the "aging" of Armenian science, in which the percentage of young candidates and doctors of sciences is a pitiful figure? This lack of confidence leads to idling of young people's tremendous potential.

For 18 months now a public-state system of Young People's Scientific and Technical Creativity [NTTM] has been in operation; its objective is to put the talent and energy of young people at the service of restructuring.

Over the past eight months seven NTTM centers have been established, contracts worth three million rubles signed and work valued at 800,000 rubles completed.



Over 800 individuals and approximately 120 labor collectives participated in fulfillment of the contractual obligations. We feel that it is essential that our republic NTTM centers be involved in the search for solutions to many highly acute problems, ecology, mechanization of livestock breeding and power engineering in particular.

We have a habit of saying that young people are our future. This is true. But it is also true that young people are our present, with their own real, present-day problems. Just think: people receive their education, learn their professions, get a home, get married and have children while they are young. And if we do not help them in these vitally important matters all the words we say will be to little effect.

Take, for example, the housing problem, concerning which much was said at the September ArSSR CP Central Committee Plenum. It is a well-known fact that the majority of young people acquire their own apartment after the age of 40. This disquieting fact has a number of negative consequences linked, above all, to family demography: the number of marriages and divorces, the birth rate, etc.

We regard expansion of the system of young people's housing complexes [MZhK], expansion of youth cooperatives, introduction of housing construction by the economic method and creation of housing projects with one-room apartments for newlyweds as solutions to this problem.

At the present time our republic has, at the initiative of the ArSSR Komsomol Central Committee and Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms, three MZhK: in Abovyan, Yerevan (Davidashen) and Leninakan; these are building not just housing, but also social, cultural and household facilities such as schools, kindergartens, clinics and sports complexes.

Young families encounter a number of other problems in addition to the housing problem. These include low wages for young specialists, the insufficient number of children's preschool facilities, which results in difficulties and even negative phenomena in connection with the placement of children in kindergartens and nurseries, and many others.

The imperative of the day is to have greater confidence in young people and to give more rights to the Komsomol. And today this is becoming a reality. The best evidence of this is the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 6 June 1988, #271, entitled "On Expansion of the Foreign Economic Activity of the All-Union Komsomol" and the USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 4 August 1988, #956, entitled "On Assistance in the Economic Activity of the All-Union Komsomol." These highly important documents are the foundations upon which an economic and legal basis for broad Komsomol activity can be created, a basis for fuller exploration of the abilities of our young

people and satisfaction of their desire for independence and the opportunity to solve their problems through their own efforts. Previously the Komsomol was artificially cut off from economic and managerial levers and incentives. And since we are all materialists and know about the dialectical relationship between the economic basis and the ideological superstructure it is obvious that this situation in no way contributes to successful performance by the Komsomol of its ideological and educational functions. Now Komsomol committees have a mechanism which, with skillful use, is capable of bringing Komsomol organizations out of their state of stagnation and inertia. If we have specific funds for specific work instead of just "salvation sermons," then young people will return to us.

We must radically reevaluate our work with regard to the patriotic and internationalist education of young people. We must preclude formalism and ostentatious bravado and face up to real problems. In this regard our point of orientation should be the decisions of the September 1988 ArSSR CP Central Committee Plenum, which set an example of a patriotic, principled approach to a whole range of highly important problems including our attitude toward our cultural heritage, national language and national schools.

Taking the plenum guidelines as its foundation, our republic Komsomol organization has drawn up a program of priority measures and a plan for large-scale youth initiatives. These include the decision to declare the construction of the Sevanskiy Reservoir and the Razdanskiy State Regional Electric Power Station shock Komsomol construction projects. They include the development of the movement entitled "The Concern of All the People for Monuments," whose objective is to bring to light cast-off, "orphaned" and unknown monuments of Armenian history and culture, to describe them and register them, and to instill in people a sense of patriotism and a desire to preserve the past of their native land.

This also includes support for the student initiative to organize elective courses in Armenian at Russian-language schools. In general the study of Armenian at Russian-language schools and the study of Russian at Armenian-language schools should be the subject of constant attention by the Komsomol in conjunction with the ArSSR Ministry of Education. We also intend to encourage the establishment of close contacts with Armenian schools located outside our republic. Thus, recently KOMSOMOLETS wrote about an initiative group from the ArSSR Komsomol Central Committee which rendered major assistance with the establishment of an Armenian school in the village of Sergey Pole, Lazarevskiy Rayon, Sochi. In my opinion, this is patriotism in action.

In short, our young people need realistic, large-scale causes; they need truth, because, as the saying goes, the more truth there is the more belief there will be. It is

essential that in the name of the 70th anniversary of the All-Union Komsomol we, working in conjunction with party organizations, channel the young people's civic activism which we have tapped—a great, creative force—in the direction of social transformation, renewal of life in our republic, successful realization of the revolutionary ideas of restructuring, the final objective of which is the good of man. Everything for man, everything in the name of man. This slogan, inscribed on the shield of our revolution 70 years ago, sounds as timely as ever today. So let us be true to it!

**Armenian Veterans Group Supports Party, Blasts Statements by S. Pogosyan**

18300103a Yerevan KOMJUNIST in Russian  
19 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by Reserves Maj Gen A. Kazaryan, chairman of the republic Council of War and Labor Veterans: "Veterans Favor Consolidation of Forces"]

[Text] I listened with agitation to the speech by S. G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, on television. My impression is that it was an honest and candid speech. It reflected both emotional concern for the people's destiny and a principled party approach to the events that are taking place in the republic today.

The situation that has developed really is complex. On the one hand, in Yerevan and certain other cities unsanctioned demonstrations continue and people are being summoned to rallies by irresponsible statements that cast a shadow on our people's good name. On the other hand, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee has held its September Plenum, which outlined a major and thoroughly substantiated program for overcoming stagnation-related phenomena in the republic, and specific steps have begun to implement the program. We veterans endorse that program and are prepared to make our contribution to the struggle for real changes in the republic. The main thing now is to unite all the people's forces around a common goal.

Let us be thoroughly frank. The consolidation of forces is frightening the antirestructuring forces a great deal. They are resorting to every possible provocation merely to drive a wedge between the republic's new leadership and the people. But they are incapable of obscuring the truth. The truth can be seen by everyone today.

The people is keenly disturbed by the fate of Lake Sevan. The new republic leadership is presently taking the most vigorous measures to save our high-mountain pearl.

The people is worried about the ecological situation in the republic and the operation of the nuclear power plant. The republic's leadership has already done a great deal of organizational work, which has made it possible to declare firmly: the Armenian Atomic Power Station will be closed as soon as possible!

The people does not agree with the fact that the outrages in Sumgait have not received a principled political appraisal, and that nothing is being reported about the course of the judicial proceedings, about who has been punished and in what way. The republic leadership has firmly and cogently conveyed this opinion of the people to the USSR Procuracy and USSR Supreme Court, and there has already been a decision: the most complex cases connected with mass plundering are to be sent for examination by the USSR Supreme Court.

The people believes that 24 April needs to be given official status. The republic leadership takes the same stand. And specific steps are presently being taken to proclaim 24 April a Day of Memory for the victims of the 1915 genocide.

The people is extremely dissatisfied with the neglected state of the social sphere and with "wheel-spinning" in the provision of housing. The republic leadership has already worked out a comprehensive program whose implementation will make it possible to sharply accelerate work in this area.

I shall not continue the list. I think that what has been said is sufficient for one to ask directly: where here is the gap between the position of the people and the position of the leadership?

This is also vividly apparent in the approach to the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh, a problem which concerns all strata of our population today. And as S. G. Arutyunyan noted in his speech on Armenian Television, both the people and the leadership favor a just solution to the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh.

You will recall in what a context of difficult disputes the 18 July decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was adopted. There is no need concealing the fact that many people did not believe in its viability. But subsequent months have demonstrated that the decree on Nagornyy Karabakh has become an important step forward in our present nationalities policy. It gave impetus to the search for specific solutions in such a delicate and complex sphere as internationality relations. It has resulted in close and irreversible relations between Armenia and the NKAO. It has made it possible for our working people to live a common life, share common concerns with their compatriots in Nagornyy Karabakh, and make common efforts to transform the region.

A very important and very promising process of spiritual convergence and spiritual kinship has started to gain momentum. Of course, a good many obstacles are still arising on its path. Let us not conceal the truth, no matter how bitter it may be. Among us in Armenia obstacles are being created by those who provoke strikes and unlawful actions. There are also serious opponents in neighboring Azerbaijan: those who are attempting to intentionally rewrite history and to prevent the restoration of architectural landmarks, and those who are

artificially creating the problem of Azerbaijani refugees in the NKAO and who raised the heat of passions to the point of the clash in the village of Khodzhal.

The main thing right now is to not look back at yesterday but look forward into the future. The 18 July decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet brought the NKAO to a new level of independence. The oblast decides all issues through a representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He is endowed with broad powers, and for this reason issues are being resolved successfully.

Now it is possible and necessary to take a new step forward: to expand the oblast's independence even further, transforming it into an autonomous republic and subordinating it directly to Moscow. Our representatives have already presented arguments substantiating the possibility of such a decision at the 18 July session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

We veterans believe that such a position is dialectically correct and that it creates conditions for removing points of tension between the neighboring republics and accords with the interests of the population of Nagorny Karabakh.

At a recent meeting of the republic Council of War and Labor Veterans, we firmly and resolutely supported the efforts of the republic leadership aimed at the just solution of the Nagorny Karabakh problem, the stabilization of the situation in the republic, and the mobilization of all forces to accelerate restructuring. Our approach to these issues is clear.

We firmly oppose any precipitous actions in resolving the disputed internationality issues; they should be resolved by political means, on the basis of the principles of Leninist nationalities policy, and in the direction of democracy and restructuring. We believe that the issue of Nagorny Karabakh will be carried through to a just resolution.

We condemn the bloody events in Sumgait and demand a clear political appraisal of them, and we also condemn the provocation at the Zvartnots Airport, the poisoning of 51 persons in Masisskiy Rayon, and the clash in the village of Khodzhal, and we hold their perpetrators up to shame.

We do not endorse spontaneous, unsanctioned rallies, demonstrations, strikes and hunger strikes, and we reject irresponsible appeals by irresponsible people. The isolated voices that are sometimes heard regarding the secession of Armenia from the Soviet Union, and the manifestations of anti-Russian attitudes are nothing but a path to national suicide.

We favor normalization of the situation, the maintenance of public order, and the strong unity of all forces who want real changes in the republic.

This is not just my personal position but the position of all war and labor veterans. We speak about it loudly and clearly. Unfortunately, a self-appointed "figure" has turned up among us—Reserves Maj S. Pogosyan, who presents himself at rallies as a lieutenant colonel and active participant in the war. Let me say candidly that during the terrible war years S. Pogosyan showed no eagerness to become a hero, served out the entire war at airfields in the rear, and never saw real combat or smelled gunpowder at the front. Yet now, taking advantage of the complex situation in the republic, it seems that S. Pogosyan has decided to make himself a national hero. It won't work!

Both I myself and P. Boshnagyan, leader of the Yerevan section of the War and Labor Veterans, have repeatedly talked with S. Pogosyan. We invited him to a meeting of the republic Council of War and Labor Veterans and gave him the opportunity to speak. None, I stress, none of those present, who represented all the republic's rayons, supported his wild and barely comprehensible statements.

Now I want to declare publicly: S. Pogosyan's attempts to appropriate "frontline services" for himself and to speak on behalf of veterans' organizations are nothing but an imposture. He has nothing in common with us.

Veterans firmly stand together with the people and the leadership for real changes in the republic and for a thoughtful and just resolution of all the issues that life is bringing forward.

**Armenian Professor Claims Dearth of Information, Truth in NKAO Reporting**  
18300103b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
18 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by Prof L. Karapetyan, proctor of Yerevan State University: "Truth in Information and Propaganda"]

[Text] Inscribed on a granite slab at the monument to Karl Marx are Lenin's prophetic words: "Marx's teaching is all-powerful because it is true." And it is true because it reflects, without any bias, actual reality in all of its contradictory manifestations.

Thousands of years of history of all times and peoples persuades us that the force of truth is the most insuperable and invincible force. The truth of life and the objective state of and trends in society's sociopolitical, economic and spiritual development are conveyed to every person through the mass media and oral and printed propaganda. And here it is extremely important that the information and propaganda be objective and up-to-date. In this connection it is appropriate to recall another important explanation of V. I. Lenin's: "We need complete and truthful information. And the truth should not depend on whom it serves" ("Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], vol 54, p 446).



In conveying the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the truth of life to the masses, the party of Bolsheviks achieved the victory of the socialist revolution in our country and channeled the creative activities of the millions-strong masses into the building of socialism. And if many problems on this path have remained unsolved over the past decades and the noble ideas of socialism in many respects turn out to have been distorted, the reason for that has been a considerable deviation from the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the main demand of the strategy of restructuring, "More socialism!" signifies the complete revival of Marxism-Leninism, and the revival in theory and propaganda and all ideological work of the truthful reflection of the principle of the unity of word and deed.

Soviet people note with satisfaction that fundamental positive changes have been taking place along these lines since the CPSU Central Committee's April (1985) Plenum. Evidence of this can be found in the fact alone that in the press and propaganda numerous opinions have been clashing, and debates have been taking place in the process of which we strive to find the truth and thereby ensure the truthfulness of propaganda.

However, it is impossible not to note also the throwbacks to the past that one frequently encounters in reports by the mass media and various forms of oral and printed propaganda concerning the most fundamental issues in the dialectics of social life.

Take, for example, the question of the **truth of history**. On the basis of an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the actual policies followed in the country during the periods of the personality cult and stagnation, the party has made a truthful appraisal and demonstrated their ruinous consequences. We read about this in articles based on indisputable factual materials. Nonetheless, employing the slogan of glasnost and pluralism of opinions, some authors and propagandists attempt to lead the masses away from historical truth. In their struggle against the fundamental ideas of restructuring, its opponents frequently cite the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th Party Conference and positions from the speeches of M. S. Gorbachev and other party leaders. But they usually interpret these positions in the sense that they desire, often substituting one subject for another in the issue under discussion, and continue to defend the abnormal phenomena of the periods of the personality cult and stagnation.

Wrapping themselves in the flag of patriotism and love for the Homeland, the defenders of those periods and the people who incite them profess a concept according to which criticism of the negative phenomena of those periods signifies a disrespectful attitude toward past generations and casts aspersions on the history of the Fatherland. However, it is perfectly obvious that it is not those who criticize the negative phenomena of the periods of the personality cult and stagnation who blacken our country's history. It has been substantially blackened

by certain leaders and their underlings. Therein lies the indisputable truth that we must convey to the broad masses through our truthful information and propaganda.

**In our multinational state, extremely great importance attaches to the utmost truthfulness in the propaganda of Leninist nationalities policy, its accomplishments and unresolved questions, and the present state of internationality relations.** Party decisions since the CPSU Central Committee's April (1985) Plenum have given an objective analysis of these issues and identified the main reasons for the exacerbation of internationality relations in certain regions of the country. Special attention was given to this matter at the CPSU's 19th Party Conference.

The mass media have been doing extensive work to elucidate these problems; however, in this extremely complex matter one sometimes encounters one-sided and, occasionally, incompetent and irresponsible reports whose authors deviate from the principle of truthfulness and interfere with the calm solution of problems that have accumulated. This has manifested itself most vividly in the treatment of the matter of events in Nagornyy Karabakh and surrounding it.

Unquestionably, the Soviet public has, in a general sense, a notion of the basic reasons for these events. They were spoken of in M. S. Gorbachev's Appeal to the Working People of Azerbaijan and Armenia, which, unfortunately, was not fully published in the central press. These reasons were also discussed at the July session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, fragments of which were shown on television. These documents and reports spoke of the historical roots of the problem and its genuinely internationalist solution by Azerbaijan's Revolutionary Committee in 1920, of the subsequent usurpation and voluntaristic reconsideration of the matter upon Stalin's intervention, on major mistakes in the implementation of nationalities policy with regard to the NKAO by the leadership of Azerbaijan over subsequent decades, on the injuring of people's feeling of national dignity, on the oblast's socioeconomic backwardness, etc.

Therein lie the basic reasons for events in Nagornyy Karabakh. Yet without getting into the true and underlying reasons for events, from the very first days some authors in their articles started to characterize the demand of the NKAO's Armenian population for reunification with the republic of that same nation as the work of "extremists" and "nationalists." This idea started to be even more broadly publicized by Azerbaijan's mass media.

It is perfectly obvious that such a treatment of events contradicted both historical truth and the principle of truthfulness in information and propaganda. Objective information was not provided, either, on the question of the movement of Agdam residents to Askeran, the tragic

events in Sumgait and the incident at Zvartnots, refugees who fled from Sumgait and other regions of Azerbaijan to Armenia and the resettlement of Azerbaijanis from Armenia to Azerbaijan, the direct causes and instigators of the clashes in the village of Khodzhal, and other matters.

And it is perfectly understandable that the country's public has not received sufficiently objective and up-to-date information. Was it impossible, for example, to have provided information on the course of the investigation and trial of the murderers in Sumgait before the situation deteriorated in recent days? The VREMYA program and the press reported on this only after a new wave of rallies in the NKAO, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Yet the events in Sumgait are not only the misfortune of the Armenian people and shame of Azerbaijan's working people. They are a tragedy for our whole country.

We should convey this indisputable truth to every person. And in this undertaking a special role belongs to the mass information and propaganda media.

As we know, the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet provides for sending to the NKAO a representative of the CPSU Central Committee and Supreme Soviet who, working with both republics' party and state agencies, will resolve all issues. We in the republic note with satisfaction the first positive actions in this area. But some people in Azerbaijan do not like this. For example, contrary to the spirit of the decree, the policy of increasing the Azerbaijani population in the NKAO has been stepped up. That was at the same time that the Azerbaijani government made a preliminary decision to resettle Azerbaijanis who had moved from Armenia in four rayons outside the NKAO. It is clear that this aroused a new wave of protest among the Armenian population, for it violates the conditions of the guarantees spoken of at the session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In the new act of settling Azerbaijanis in the NKAO, the Armenian population of the NKAO sees a danger of the repetition of the fate of Armenians in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, when after it was created with 57 percent, not even one percent remains today. Therein is one reason for the new wave of exacerbation of the situation in the NKAO and the region as a whole. Yet the mass media have reported about this in such a way that it is hard to understand who is to blame. The principle of truth in information and propaganda demands that events and their causes be called by their proper names. It is necessary to provide clear information as to which cases the citizens of the Azerbaijani capital are to blame for and which the citizens of the Armenian capital are to blame for. Only then will Soviet people in all the republics understand the essence of the problem, and only then can correct public opinion be formed, public opinion which should constitute the basis for the just resolution of the issue by the country's supreme party and state bodies. After learning the truth and the true reasons for the events occurring in the NKAO, the Soviet people will suggest the correct way to solve the problem.

Certain reports in the central press that appeared following the session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet have not contributed to the process of a calm and objective solution of the problem of the NKAO, either. Thus, the magazine AGITATOR (No 16) carried an article by N. Aleksandrov. It cites, in particular, documents from the 1920s indicating that the creation of the Transcaucasian Federation was fully approved in all three Transcaucasian republics. That is indeed true, but it has almost no bearing on the present-day problem of the NKAO.

At the same time, it keeps quiet the fact that there was discussion at the session of the need to make amendments to the USSR Constitution, which contains contradictory articles on matters of nationalities policy. But in order to strengthen his position, the author cites a passage from the speech by Academician S. A. Ambartsumyan, a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and rector of Yerevan University, in which he calls attention to the fact that the movement of the people can hardly be stopped and calmed down solely by appeals to strengthen internationalism and the friendship of peoples (p 10).

In this connection it is appropriate to recall a sad truth from recent history. After all, for many years all the mass media daily propagandized the reality of developed socialism in our country. This official concept was legally codified in the preamble to the USSR Constitution. But when people calmly analyzed the matter, it turned out that the country was in a precrisis state, in connection with which revolutionary restructuring was required. Similarly, if we, continuing the regrettable practice, engage solely in appeals to internationalism and the friendship of peoples, while backing them up with such "persuasive" examples as "an Armenian man has an Azerbaijani wife, and vice-versa," we will hardly solve the problems of exacerbated nationality relations. Such propaganda was conducted in the years of the personality cult and stagnation, but its results are common knowledge. Incidentally, the former leadership of Azerbaijan wasted considerable money on appeals and "measures" related to internationalism and the friendship of peoples, yet an explosion of vandalism took place 30 km from that republic's capital. As IZVESTIYA wrote, "people were killed and physically and psychologically crippled merely because they were of a different nationality" (14 May 1988).

Sociological research that has been conducted regarding Nagornyy Karabakh, the course of the discussion of that problem at all-union scientific conferences and symposiums, and conversations with numerous representatives of the two fraternal republics have led to the firm conviction that delaying the resolution of the issue or solving it in a half-way fashion will do irreparable damage to friendship among peoples and our country's international prestige. It is impossible to persuade objective people of the wrongfulness of the desire of the NKAO's Armenian population to join the nearby Armenian SSR. It is impossible to persuade Soviet people and

the country's public opinion that the expression of the people's will and decision of its supreme body, the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies, are a manifestation of "extremism" and "nationalism," and that they are contrary to socialist democracy and restructuring. It is impossible to persuade true internationalists that the reunification of people of the same nation living side by side in a single national state formation and in the unified family of the multinational socialist state will damage our common cause and the internationalist friendship of peoples.

At the same time, our people should be profoundly aware that the path to a just resolution of the issue of reuniting the NKAO with the Armenian SSR lies neither through the inflaming of passions nor through endless strikes and the canceling of classes in educational institutions, which often are also the result of the dissemination of false rumors or the absence of objective information.

Very unfortunately, sometimes people even spread malicious rumors to the effect that the new republic leadership has abandoned its former stand with regard to solution of the Nagorny Karabakh problem and turned away from the people and the urgent issues that keenly concern all of us today. As S. G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, noted in his report to the Central Committee's September (1988) Plenum, concealing themselves behind lofty phrases and playing on people's noble feelings, such people want to create a split in our ranks and plunge the republic into chaos, and they are doing everything possible to inflame passions and keep people in a state of tension.

Historical experience and present-day sociological research indicate that the defense of national interests solely by such methods may exacerbate a conflict.

The most realistic way to a just solution of the NKAO problem lies through a reform of the political system and the making of clarifications and amendments suggested by life in the USSR Constitution, as envisaged in appropriate resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

As we know, at the present time a special commission of the USSR Council of Nationalities exists that is also preparing proposals on the future status of the NKAO. Under these conditions, our people's patriotic and internationalist duty is to give the republic's new leadership, party and state agencies, public organizations and scholars the opportunity, in a calm atmosphere, to develop substantiated proposals for resolution of the issue and to submit them to union bodies.

In our opinion, it is necessary to arrange to provide timely and, when necessary, daily and hourly information with respect to current issues pertaining to the NKAO problem. In particular, a dialogue among supporters of different approaches to solving the problem should be conducted on television and in newspapers. That will forestall various rumors and provocational statements, which are often made by irresponsible persons during rallies. We have no

right to forget the lessons of the Zvartnots events, which were the result of a filthy provocation.

I want to reemphasize that we should use all the mass information and propaganda media to do everything possible to enhance not pro forma but profound and substantive internationalist upbringing and strengthen friendship among all the peoples of our multinational Fatherland. But it is unthinkable to accomplish this sacred task through appeals alone, without the practical resolution of socioeconomic, state-administration and other questions.

After all, the demand to provide ideological support for the accomplishment of sociopolitical and economic tasks dominated for a long time in our country. But from the standpoint of a Marxist-Leninist approach to the dialectics of social development it is obvious that it would have been correct to first of all pose the task of providing sociopolitical and economic support for ideological upbringing work.

In this connection there is one more question that concerns the Soviet public and has direct bearing on ensuring truth in information and propaganda. I am referring to society's attitude toward the crimes of the 1930s to 1950s and toward their perpetrators. New materials are published about this every day. At the same time, Soviet people are speaking out about the impermissibility of continuing to leave the graves of those people, who committed crimes against the people and socialism, at the Kremlin wall, near the mausoleum of V. I. Lenin. The Fatherland's most sacred spots should be cleansed of those who betrayed the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which is all-powerful because it is true. That is one of the fundamental political, legal and moral problems of socialist justice. In the film "Pokayaniye" [Repentance] our Georgian comrades showed a bold and instructive example of cleansing the road to the temple. It is time to follow that example of civic and genuinely communist justice. A monument to the victims of counterrevolutionary repressions and to the revolutionaries of the Leninist guard should stand by the walls of the Fatherland's most sacred temple. That will increase the Soviet people's faith in the irreversibility of revolutionary restructuring and in the complete triumph of the noble ideals of socialism.

#### **ArSSR Official Actions Taken in Narekatsi Election 'Falsification' Case**

##### **CP Buro Resolution**

*18300100 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
11 Oct 88 p 1*

[Resolution of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Buro "On the Falsification of the Election Results for the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in Narekatsi Election District No 111 by Several Members of the Credentials Committee of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Incorrect Conduct of Kh. L. Mandalyan



and V. B. Galumyan, Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Members"]

[Text] The Buro of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee has discussed the question "On the Falsification of the Election Results for the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in Narekatsi Election District No 111 by Several Members of the Credentials Committee of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Incorrect Conduct of Kh. L. Mandalyan and V. B. Galumyan, Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Members."

The resolution adopted pointed out that on the initiative of V. B. Galumyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, an attempt was made to conduct a meeting of the Supreme Soviet's Credentials Committee to allegedly check the results of the elections to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in Yerevan's Narekatsi Election District No 111. All told, six out of the 14 individuals participated in the committee meeting and a group of outside persons was admitted. Notwithstanding the actual election results which had been confirmed by the okrug election commission, the Credentials Commission members produced a "protocol" of an Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Credentials Committee meeting which had no legal basis. In violation of the Statute on Permanent Commissions and the law on elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet, it illegally recognized Kh. Stamboltsyan, who had not been registered and who had not received a majority of the votes of all the okrug's voters as an elected deputy to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. Kh. L. Mandalyan, Credentials Committee chairman, and four committee members signed the protocol. Kh. L. Mandalyan personally communicated it to the members of the so-called Karabakh Committee and publicly announced it in Yerevan's Opera Square in the committee's presence. Kh. L. Mandalyan's statement that his action was committed under pressure from the activists of the so-called Karabakh Committee, is untenable.

Kh. L. Mandalyan, a CPSU member, consciously committed a political provocation that aggravated the situation and contributed to a further overheating of fears and emotions under the conditions that had taken shape. V. B. Galumyan, a CPSU member and deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, demonstrated political short-sightedness and a lack of principles and thereby contributed to the creation of an illegal and provocative document.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Buro has removed Kh. L. Mandalyan from the ranks of the CPSU and called his further tenure of office in the position of chief of the Armenian republic's territorial administration of the USSR State Committee for Standards inadvisable because of the adoption in the name of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Credentials Committee and the signing of an illegal document distorting the actual results of the elections to the Armenian SSR

Supreme Soviet in Narekatsi Election District No 111, which was a political provocation and led to an aggravation of the situation in the republic. This decision has been submitted for a review by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum.

V. B. Galumyan, a CPSU member, was severely reprimanded for his failure to take steps to prevent the fabrication of an illegal and provocative document by several members of the Credentials Committee and for the political short-sightedness demonstrated by him. It has been entered on his record form.

The attention of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee members and candidate members and all leading party, Soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic agency directors was directed toward increasing political vigilance, party principles and personal responsibility for implementing party policies and the directives of the September 1988 Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on normalizing the situation in the republic.

Party gorkoms and raykoms have been commissioned to take effective and urgent steps aimed at increasing the role and responsibility of primary party organizations and of all communists for the establishment of the necessary order and the strengthening of work, production and educational discipline in all labor collectives, organizations and educational institutions.

#### Plenum Expels Party Official

18300100 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
11 Oct 88 p 1

["Information Report on the Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee"—*KOMMUNIST* headline]

[Text] A plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee was held on 10 October. The chiefs of the Central Committee departments and the first secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms, who are not included in the composition of the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission of the Armenian Communist Party, were invited to it.

The plenum examined the 10 October 1988 Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Buro resolution "On the Falsification of the Election Results for the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in Narekatsi Election District No 111 by Several Members of the Credentials Committee of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Incorrect Conduct of Kh. L. Mandalyan and V. B. Galumyan, Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Members." Yu. P. Kochetkov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and G. M. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, reported on this matter.

The plenum completely and fully approved the resolution of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Buro on this question and unanimously removed Kh. L. Mandalyan from the ranks of the CPSU for accepting in the name of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Credentials Committee and signing an illegal document that distorted the actual results of the elections to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in Narekatsi Election District No 111, which was a political provocation and which led to an aggravation of the situation in the republic.

S. G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke during the plenum. During his speech, he analyzed in detail the activity of the republic's leadership and talked about the steps that are being taken to normalize the situation in the ideological, moral, social and economic spheres. The practical steps, which are being taken to solve the problems in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, were reported to the plenum.

A sharp and highly principled discussion took place during the plenum in connection with the tense situation that has taken shape in the republic. It was pointed out that certain persons are issuing politically harmful appeals, which have nothing at all in common with the genuine interests of our people and the problems in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Okrug. The fact that certain groups of people are inciting people to illegal actions and are trying in every way possible to destabilize the situation in the republic; defame party, soviet and economic personnel; and drive a wedge between the republic's workers and leaders, is causing uneasiness. When doing this, the organizers of the disorders do not disdain to use impudent lies, sow provocative rumors, circulate deliberately false fantasies, and resort to blackmail and threats.

The plenum considers it intolerable that several party, soviet and economic workers; educational institution teachers; and representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia are not taking highly principled party positions in the situation that has been created and are not giving a rebuff to the irresponsible persons who are playing on the people's national feelings. Party committees are frequently not providing the necessary evaluation of these facts.

The plenum pointed out with special force that the statements being made by certain individuals about an existing alleged separation of the republic's leadership from the people do not have any justification and are an ill-intentioned calumny.

The plenum required party, soviet, economic, and law enforcement agencies to use the rights, which have been granted to them, in every way possible to instill the required order, suppress the illegal actions and insure lawfulness.

The plenum participants received the report of the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee with approval.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum completed its work with this.

**Supreme Soviet Reviews Facts of Case**  
18300100 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
11 Oct 88, p 1

[Unattributed report entitled: "In the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] A meeting of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held on 10 October. It examined the question of the illegal actions of Kh. L. Mandalyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Credentials Committee, and several of the committee's members. The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium noted that during the compiling of the "protocol" by the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Credentials Committee and four of the committee's members, very gross violations of Article 99 in the Armenian SSR Constitution and Point 1 of Article 9 in the Statute on Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Permanent Commissions, which was approved by the 11th session of the Ninth Convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet on 14 December 1979, had been committed. In accordance with the above-mentioned articles, the committee has responsibility for checking the authority of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies and submitting proposals to recognize the authority of deputies and, in the case of a violation of election laws, to recognize the elections of individual deputies as invalid for a review by the republic's Supreme Soviet. When checking the authority of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies, the Credentials Committee, being an auxiliary body of the republic's Supreme Soviet, is competent to make decisions and suggestions of a recommended nature only, submitting them for review by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. Moreover, the meeting of the committee was illegal because a meeting is considered legal in accordance with Article 28 of the mentioned statute when more than half of the committee's composition participate in it. In this case, only six of the 14 committee members participated. The committee members present did not have a legal basis for checking the authority of Kh. Stamboltsyan as an elected deputy because he had not been registered in the prescribed manner as a candidate for deputy by the okrug election commission for Yerevan's Narekatsi Election District No 111.

In accordance with Article 53 of the Law on Elections to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, the candidacy of Kh. Stamboltsyan, which the voters wrote in on the ballot, even if it had been registered and entered on the ballot, could not have been considered selected since it received

fewer than half of the votes of all the okrug's voters. The chairman and four members of the Credentials Committee falsified the actual election results.

Taking into account the fact that Kh. L. Mandalyan, the chairman of the Credentials Committee, and the members of the commission, who participated in it, had falsified the election results and not observed the requirements of Article 99 in the Armenian SSR Constitution and Point 1 of Article 9 and Article 28 in the Statute on Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Permanent Commissions, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolved to consider the "protocol" about recognizing the authority of Kh. Stamboltsyan, who had not been registered by the okrug election commission for the elections to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in Narekatsi Election District No 111 in the city of Yerevan, as illegal and incompetent.

#### **Legal Aspects Clarified**

18300100 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
11 Oct 88 p 2

[Unattributed report entitled: "Report"]

[Text] A group of citizens has requested the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to explain certain questions connected with the elections held on 2 October 1988 in Yerevan's Narekatsi Election District No 111. A report has been given on the results of the elections held.

In connection with the questions that have arisen, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium thinks it advisable to report further that the elections took place in accordance with Article 57 of the Armenian SSR law "On Elections to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet" which was approved on 15 December 1978 during the ninth session of the tenth convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A candidate for deputy, who had been nominated in the mentioned okrug and registered, was not elected in view of the fact that he had not gathered more than half of the votes of all of the okrug's voters, i.e., the total number of voters entered on the lists.

In accordance with Article 57 of the election law, candidates for deputy in this election district must be registered 15 days before the elections, i.e., by 16 September. The candidacy of Kh. Stamboltsyan was not submitted to the okrug election commission for registration in the prescribed time.

The registration of candidates for deputy has important political and legal significance. A person, who has been nominated as a candidate for deputy, acquires the right to run in the appropriate election district only after registration, i.e., his name must be included on the ballot (Art 41).

Only the votes "for" and "against" candidates for deputies, whom the okrug election commission has registered, are considered during the vote counting. The names of other persons, which have been written on the ballot, are not taken into account and depending on whether the name of the registered candidate has been left on the bulletin or lined out, the ballot is recognized as being cast "for" or "against" the candidate for deputy.

The name of Kh. Stamboltsyan was added to part of the ballots during the elections in Yerevan's Narekatsi Election District No 111.

The candidacy of Kh. Stamboltsyan, which the voters added to the ballot, would not have been considered as being selected—even if it had been registered and entered on the ballot—based on Article 53 of the Armenian SSR law "On Elections to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet" since it did not receive more than half of the votes of all the district's electors, i.e., the total number of voters entered on the lists.

A similar case occurred also in Usanokhakan Election District No 159 in the city of Abovyan.

#### **Russian Supporters of Latvian Popular Front Voice Opinions**

18000086a Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 27 Sep 88 p 1

[Letters to the editors: "The Popular Front: We Continue the Discussion"]

[Text]

#### **We Invite Support**

Right now the program and charter of the Latvian Popular Front (LPF) is being vigorously debated in draft form by all segments of the population and at all levels—from the LPF support groups to public transport. As representatives of the Russian-speaking population, we should like to express our opinion on the draft proposals for the LPF program and charter.

We are by no means indifferent to the issues raised in the LPF program. Together with the Latvians, we are horrified by the changes that have occurred in the ecological conditions of the republic, leading to the ruination of lakes and rivers, of pasture lands and forests; by the economic conditions that have been brought about in Latvia; and by the attitude that persists with respect to the culture that has been in existence until recent times. We wholeheartedly support the LPF draft program and charter and wish to express our own opinion regarding some of these "burning" issues.

We consider the establishment of Latvian as the official state language on Latvian territory to be entirely necessary. If this decision had been made at the proper time, many of the problems we face today, such as the extent of



migration, would not have arisen. Nor would the state of ignorance of the Latvian language on the part of Russian-speakers have become such a critical issue.

Many persons are apprehensive of the forthcoming re-migration. We are convinced that no one is going to be driven out, especially those who are not indifferent to the fate of the republic. Even in bourgeois Latvia there were a large number of Jews, Russians, Belorussians, Poles, and so on, living in the territory. The question of re-migration will be up to those who are not able—more likely, are not willing—to adapt to the new conditions. This is a question that appears to be unavoidable not only in Latvia and the other republics, but in all parts of the Union, in view of the restructuring of the economic system that will take place.

With regard to particular cultures, we are confident that no one will attempt the suppression of Russian or any other culture. On the contrary, the LPF program specifically provides for the further development of the cultures of all the other peoples living in the republic along with Latvian culture.

The proposed creation of territorial military units, in which residents of Latvia would serve, has been declared by many to be "an act of ideological sabotage." But Latvian riflemen themselves have proved the soundness of such units. Since we are speaking of the people's army in the people's state, why should we not look upon the territorial units as a continuation in the tradition of the Latvian riflemen?

With regard to the other positions taken in the LPF program, in our judgment they reflect the prospective democratization of society and lawfully established state which have long been under discussion by independently minded persons of all nationalities.

We regard as unacceptable the "rehashing" of the draft proposals and the introduction of any fundamental alterations. Those who do not share the LPF goals in their entirety should in our judgment form organizations of their own and not try to remake the LPF from within. A single political organization, of course, cannot express the interests of everyone.

We call upon the Russian-speaking segment of the population to lend its active support to the ideas of the Latvian Popular Front.

[Signed] A. Drozd, F. Pashetkin, and G. Protasov, members of the LPF support group of the Riga National Research Institute of Radioisotope Instrument Engineering

#### **Better By Far to Take Measurements**

The labor collective soviet (LCS) of the Riga industrial association (RIA) Pirmays Mays, together with the sponsoring group of Leningradskiy Rayon, propose that no

undue haste be taken in approving the program of the Latvian Popular Front, pending thorough discussion by the people.

A meeting of the labor collective soviet at the RIA Pirmays Mays recently took under consideration the LPF draft program. (This collective numbers 2,762 persons.)

After discussing the LPF program as published in the newspapers PADOMYU YAUNATNE and SOVETS-KAYA MOLODEZH, and also basic principles for the construction and activities of the LPF as proposed by the sponsoring group of Leningradskiy Rayon, the meeting was of the opinion that both documents were basically acceptable as drafts for establishing the Latvian Popular Front.

The LCS meeting of the RIA has called upon the labor collectives of the entire republic to take into consideration what is today regarded as the primary task—consolidating all forces active in support of the CPSU policy for the democratization and restructuring of social life. We also propose a meeting of representatives of the soviet labor collectives within the city of Riga to discuss what is to be done in organizing the Popular Front.

The meeting considered that the content and principles of activity of the Popular Front must be determined in the most democratic way possible—with the broad-based participation of the population. We propose holding a referendum to judge the LPF draft program and charter.

The time remaining, however, prior to the already announced date of the LPF constituent congress is not sufficient. It seems to us prudent therefore to postpone the constituent congress to a later period (two or three months) or else to adopt the suggestion of the sponsoring group of Leninskiy Rayon to consider at the congress only creating a temporary management organ of the People's Front, which could coordinate efforts to complete preparations for the program and charter, with due regard for the people and the convening of a subsequent congress to ratify these documents.

The labor collective soviet notes that many specific requirements are set forth in the LPF draft program, requiring big material outlays, the one-time expense of which is out of the question in the absence of adequate funds. We believe it necessary therefore to soften these categorical requirements or else to confront them at the proper time—that is, consider how they are to be resolved on a more long-term scale.

The editorial commission in its work of revising the LPF draft program must also refrain from a protracted process of verification, dealing with irrelevant documents of comparable content.

[Signed] S. Yevstigneyev, chairman, LCS, RIA Pirmays Mays, and M. Zolotovskiy, LCS secretary

**Difficulties of Learning Latvian Examined by  
Russian Resident**  
*18000086b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
27 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Yu. Chernyavskiy: "The Effects of Tactfulness—International Discourse Within One Family"]

[Text] Today an ever-increasing number of people who have come to Latvia as adults face the necessity of studying the Latvian language. Others, who studied Latvian in school, want refresher training. Even pensioners, whose time for study, one might suppose, was long since past, are poring over textbooks and dictionaries. All this is a natural consequence of what has been occurring in a process of social change regarding the place and role of the Latvian and Russian languages in the life of the republic.

There is, however, another response to what has been occurring that must be come to terms with. Certain people who earlier acknowledged the necessity of learning Latvian, if only in so many words, ashamed of their knowledge of how to get along in Latvian in the simplest street situation, are suddenly beginning to be brazenly defiant about their lack of knowledge, as if to say, "I do not speak Latvian, and I am not about to begin!" Sad to say, I suppose, such a metamorphosis may be inevitable.

For example, what can a student of Latvian get out of reading the newspapers? There he is, armed with a dictionary and a grammar book, trying to piece out an observation about ecological bickering. Who is at fault? The author, without using the odious word "migrant," gives an unambiguous answer: people without familial ties, who like "rolling stones" roam from place to place....Unfortunately, biased logic is already penetrating deeply into the pores of the social consciousness.

The human psyche has its own laws. One uniquely human characteristic is to avoid, consciously or unconsciously, whatever lowers one's own sense of self-esteem. It is a natural reaction for each person not to know, not to see and not to hear, what is offensive, and not to associate with persons who could wound his psyche.

True, this does not always work out. And what then? Psychology has an answer to this question. The person then becomes, and once again quite unconsciously, as those about the person see him. One does not defy expectations. Moreover, practical experience teaches us that good feelings elicit only goodness in others, whereas contempt is invariably rewarded in kind.

Once a well-known polyglot, my namesake Ye. M. Chernyavskiy, was asked: "Is talent necessary to master a language?" Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, who had learned 40 languages to perfection, gave this reply:

"As a teacher I divide language students into four groups. First, there are those for whom the study of a language is a joy. Second, those who find it necessary for some practical reason. Third, those who don't mind language study if it is not a burden for them. And fourth, those who feel obliged to study only to pass examinations. The first will be successful with any method, but nothing can help the fourth.

The joy of human intercourse that gives new access to the source of the spiritual and intellectual culture of a people—that is the most powerful impetus to the study of language. No doubt a person can be prodded to learn a language meagerly or badly by threatening to declare him professionally unfit. But is it worth it?

I should like to fantasize a bit. What if each Latvian undertook to teach his language to one Russian (a Belorussian, Ukrainian, or Armenian, say); for example, his associate at work, his neighbor, his sports teammate or fishing friend. He would teach him songs, take him to the countryside, to Ligo, and escort him into the rich world of the Latvian people. Such tutelage could be looked upon as the patriotic duty of each Latvian. And the Russians, or Belorussians, representing another nationality, would be proud to be in such a situation, and confident they would not be allowed to stray from the right path.

I always dreamed of having such a teacher. Language study in adult years is a thing that is genuinely difficult, and I am therefore grateful for anybody that has helped me or will help me in this effort. I remember, four years ago, my dormitory mate Uldis used to take me sometimes in the evenings into Old Riga, which was then little known to me. Another neighbor, Ayvar, gave me his old school dictionary—dictionaries were then not for sale. My thanks to my colleagues from "Tsini" Guntisu Grundulisu and Khelge Balode, who however much I might try to switch to Russian in conversing with them, would patiently persevere in extracting Latvian phrases from me. Learning to converse in a language, of course, is like learning to swim—it just takes practice.

Maybe it is nevertheless worth thinking of the additional reward for those who by the nature of their activities are obliged to make use of both the Latvian and Russian languages. Here the main thing is not the material incentive but the fact that the person who studies a language will sense the social significance of his efforts.

Some wise man once said: "Each of us is human only to the extent of the languages he knows." To those who have encountered the diverse destinies of the Latvians, the opportunity to become doubly enriched in spirit is granted. Shame on those who have not taken advantage of it!

As for the malicious backbiting that goes on in other articles and broadcast commentary, let it be on the conscience of those responsible. It is up to each of us, I

believe, to find for ourselves people to converse with—a process that will serve to shape our ideas of the Latvian people as we familiarize ourselves with their language and rich spiritual heritage.

**Academicians Argue against Rushing into Latvian Popular Front Program**

18000111 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in  
Russian 7 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by L.Bondar, V.Gerasimov, G.Gotlib, S.Zolotovskaya, O.Izyumov and N.Semenova, employees of the LaSSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Electronics and Computer Technology, members of the Latvia's Popular Front support group; L.Morozov and S.Bondar, employees of the LaSSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Electronics and Computer Technology: "Too Early for Final Results" under the "Popular Front: Discussions Continue"]

[Text] With all due respect for the courage of the founding group, of those who took upon themselves the extremely difficult task of drafting the basic documents of the LPF, we must nevertheless honestly state that the drafts of the program and of the regulations leave one dissatisfied. We would like to see a polished and corrected version of the text which would form the basis for a businesslike discussion.

No one should blame the authors of the drafts if their enthusiasm is often stronger than political experience: the majority of those who are serious about taking up social activity, without turning it into a game for grown-ups, are in a similar position.

The most important task in this situation is to make the right decision, one that would not slow the creation of the LPF and help avoid errors caused by haste. Indeed, the first thing one sees as one reads the documents is the haste in which they were drafted, which caused discrepancies in terminology and contradictions among various parts of the program and between the program itself and the regulations. Let us cite an example. The draft of the program states: "Latvia's Popular Front (LPF) is a social organization of the republic..." while that of the regulations declares: "Latvia's Popular Front (LPF) is a mass socio-political organization of the republic..." The draft of the program states that "the LPF's activity is based on the principles contained in the resolutions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, on the basic ideas expressed by the communists and workers of the republic ahead of the 19th Party Conference and on the resolutions of the June 1988 Expanded Plenum of the Administration of the LaSSR Writers' Union," while according to the regulations, "the LPF participates in the perestroika of our society in accordance with the directives contained in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th Party Conference."

Naturally, in a serious document such lapses are unacceptable, but there is a fair number of them in this one.

In our opinion, there are three requirements that the final version of the basic documents must meet, which therefore should serve as guidelines while working on the drafts.

First, the program's sections must not allow arbitrary interpretation.

Second, the LPF program must be as plain as possible and accessible to diverse segments of the population.

Third, the program should not include controversial ideas on which various groups of the population which otherwise do not have radical disagreements have not yet reached a definite agreement. We must not forget how important it is to preserve unity among progressive forces and not to allow a schism that would play into the hands of forces opposed to perestroika.

We also believe that a one-month period is insufficient to discuss the drafts.

The program, in addition to the clear term "indigenous nation", uses three other terms: "indigenous population", "indigenous people" and "long-time residents". None of the three is defined anywhere and therefore can not be used in a legal document.

In this respect, it would be useful to add a section of definitions at the start of the text of the program, where all the terms used there would be defined.

A similar complaint can be made about section I-3, stating that "the LPF calls for constructive relations among nationalities based on the Leninist principles of national self-determination in the framework of the union of Soviet states." What are those "constructive relations among nationalities," and how are they different from relations among nationalities based simply on the Leninist principles of national self-determination, is not at all clear.

While to a certain extent these complaints refer to terminology, section II-3 asks for the republic "the right to independently maintain direct relations with other states and international organizations." Wait a minute. Article 80 of the USSR Constitution states: "Union republics have the right to maintain relations with foreign states, enter into agreements with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives, as well as participate in the activities of international organizations." This surpasses the demands of section II-3!

Furthermore, the same section II-3 states: "It is time to define in the LaSSR Constitution the status of the citizen of the LaSSR." Once again, let us look into the USSR Constitution, where we find the following: "Part 11. State and Individual; Chapter 6. USSR Citizenship. Equality of Citizens; Chapter 7. Principal Rights, Freedoms and Responsibilities of LaSSR Citizens." In other



words, the status of the citizen has already been defined in the Constitution. In this case, the above-mentioned section should either be removed from the LPF program draft or amended to clearly state what is meant here. Naturally, if a person has been reading newspapers in recent months or has taken part in the discussion, he would recall that the question of the status of the citizen of the republic is related to the problems of distorted migration, housing, shortages, etc. Yet, this meaning must be stated, not implied.

Or let us look at section III-7, which proposes to "restore the republic's right, granted by the previous LaSSR constitution, to form military units on its territory where citizens of the LaSSR, regardless of their nationality, could perform their compulsory military service." This demand has already been fulfilled, since on the territory of the LaSSR there are already military units where citizens of the republic can also serve. Since what meant here is apparently some kind of special units where the republic's citizens, and they alone, could serve, the following should be stated. According to the principles of federalism, the development of which is discussed in section II-3 of the draft, the federation fields a common military force. The task of commanding the common military force entails freedom to move all units around the entire territory of the country, based on the current requirements of national defense.

This is the reason why the creation of military units where all men of the republic would serve is out of the question. An acceptable idea could be to create a military unit consisting exclusively of citizens of the republic, but some of its citizens must still serve outside the republic. Such a unit, however, can only cause harm since serving in it would naturally be easier psychologically, and as a result it would be another area for corruption to develop.

Section V-5 states: "The LPF feels that it is necessary to create a periodical publication on Latvian culture in English, German and French." This publication presumably will be published in Latvian and Russian, as well. This should also be mentioned. Is it a minor point? It is, but in a legal document, both the spirit and the letter will guide our actions.

Or here is another riddle, in section V-10, on culture as ideology: "The LPF... decisively rejects the interpretation of culture as ideology..."

Let us appeal to Albert Schweitzer in this matter: "Culture is a result of all achievements of individuals and the mankind as a whole in all areas and in all aspects, inasmuch as these achievements lead to spiritual betterment of the individual and to general progress." If we are also to recall that ideology means world view, how can we contrast culture with ideology?

The program has to be particularly sensitive to very complex and painful questions which are still subject to discussion. In this respect, those who drafted the program have been excessively rigid. We are referring to three painful points: LaSSR citizenship, the Latvian language as the official language and migration. Let us review the program's stand on the latter, which in a way is the focal point of all three problems.

Section 9-5 of the draft of the program states: "The LPF categorically opposes the extensive method of economic management, as well as excessive industrialization which has caused distortions in the economic structure, environmental crisis and unnatural relations among nationalities. The LPF supports strict controls over all processes related to migration. Uncontrolled and spontaneous migration does irreversible damage to the Latvian as well as non-Latvian population that has long lived on the Latvian territory, including Russians, Jews and Belorussians, to their culture, language and well-being." The latter statement about spontaneous migration effectively singles out migration as a distinct problem and identifies it as an independent evil. Consequently, the program declares the need to fight spontaneous migration, thus in effect splitting cause from effect.

Returning to the draft of the program, we feel that it should unambiguously state that unbalanced migration is but one of the effects of the extensive economic development of the republic and should point to economic measures as the only way of attaining acceptable levels of natural migration.

We will not attempt to include all our proposals on the drafts of the program and of the regulations in this letter; we have sent the complete list to the Editorial Commission for Drafting the Program of the Provisional Founding Center of the LPF. Let us mention only the most important points.

We propose the following:

1. The [upcoming] congress should be held in the form of a discussion, without adopting the LPF's program and regulations, since the drafts of the program and of the regulations need considerable work, whereas the texts were published only one month prior to the congress, rendering serious discussion practically impossible.

2. Instead of 2 basic documents, we should have 3:

The LPF program, which would include the main unifying principles;

The LPF regulations;

The near-term goals of the LPF, which should include a list of problems that must be addressed promptly, including perhaps those problems on which no agreement would have been reached at the congress.

3. A provisional set of LPF regulations should be adopted, one that would be in force until the next congress.

4. The drafts of the program and of the near-term goals should remain open for broad discussion, in particular in the mass media, so that these documents could be approved at the next congress.

#### **Migration Controls, Other Planning Needed in Latvia**

18200048a Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 4 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by N. Baranovskiy, doctor of economic sciences and laboratory chief at the Latvian Branch of the USSR State Statistical Committee Research Institute: "Problem: What Should the Migration Policy of the LaSSR Be?"]

[Text] Implementation of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference will require a new approach to population problems. We must to an ever greater extent take into consideration the regional specificity of the number, composition and distribution of population. This is a prerequisite of regional planning. Complex problems in this area exist in almost every region of our country. Yet they are especially difficult in regions with a high rate of migration-generated population growth. If we compare all the union republics in terms of the intensity of their population migration, i.e. in terms of the intensity of moves beyond the limits of the city or other administrative division in which an individual had previously resided, as well as in terms of their percentages of settled residents (persons who have lived in the same location for more than 10 years), then we find that the LaSSR falls in the category of republics with heavy migrational activity yet has a low rate of effective result from this migration.

For many years now population migration has been the primary source of population growth in Latvia. From 1971 through 1987 the republic's population increased by 292,000. Of this growth migration accounted for 190,000—65 percent of the total. Rural population declined while cities grew. There are now six cities in Latvia with populations over 50,000; Daugavpils and Liepaya have over 100,000 and Riga has a population of 900,000 (the population of Riga grew by 170,000 during the 1971-87 period).

Currently 34 percent of the republic's population live in Riga, and it is also the main industrial center. The minuses for the development of the urban environment are obvious in Riga as well as in other cities and villages in our republic. This is precisely why the draft "Concept for the Economic and Social Development of the LaSSR Up to the Year 2005" sets the goal of changing the territorial distribution of industry in our republic. Industry is the primary employer in Latvia. That has been the

case for many years now. Against this backdrop it is quite understandable (though unjustifiable) that agriculture has lagged behind in all regions.

Historically Latvia was an agrarian republic, yet today little remains of its former agricultural system. By the mid-1950's rural areas accounted for less than half of Latvia's population. In 1987 the rural population was only 29 percent of the total. In this connection it should be noted that a segment of the rural population works in cities; these are the so-called "pendulum migrants." Mechanization of labor in rural areas remains at a low level. A larger number of workers is used to compensate for this lack of equipment. Therefore it comes as no surprise that the percentage of people in our republic employed in agriculture is several times larger than in other economically developed countries of the world that have a well-developed agricultural sector.

Agriculture has been hardest hit by population migration. This was exacerbated by the republic's previous and profoundly erroneous orientation toward elimination of the system of small farms (khutory). Despite the fact that scientists strove diligently to provide a theoretical justification for this policy, citing the need to overcome the substantial differences between life in rural and urban areas, our experience has shown that very idea was flawed. The negative consequences of this policy are now evident. We must seek every possible alternative for renewing, restoring and strengthening the same small farms that for many years we zealously strove to eliminate.

Statistics indicate that despite the fact that all segments of the population are involved in migration it is persons under the age of 30 who most often change their place of residence. Among young people there are numerous cases of persons making two or more moves. Only one-third of these youthful migrants succeed in adapting to their new locale; the remainder are forced to join the migratory stream again after a time (sometimes within one year).

We must solve the problem of migration by approaching it from three angles: limitations on interrepublic migration, prevention of migration within our republic and efforts to help newly-arrived residents adjust. Whereas the first approach does in fact affect all persons arriving in Latvia from other regions of the country to take up permanent residence here, the second approach applies mainly to Latvia's rural population. It would involve the inculcation among young people of a sense of attachment to rural professions and a rural life style. The objective of the third approach would be to accelerate adjustment of migrant to their new homes. If a person has already moved, then all the necessary conditions should be created so that he or she can get settled properly and work out all day-to-day problems. This is a complex matter. But in any event there should be strict compliance with this rule: convenience for migrants should not be created at the expense of the native population that

has been living in an area for years. We must admit that up until now this rule has often been broken, and this has resulted in heightened interethnic tensions. Take for example the distribution of new housing. It has been the case that migrants often receive housing within the first three to five years of residence in a new area, whereas native residents must wait for 20 years or more. There is a simple logic behind this. New arrivals are housed in workers' dormitories, and enterprises definitely make an effort to find housing for this group first. And it is a large group. The spaces in dormitories that thus become vacant are filled by new arrivals, who then in turn need apartments. And on it goes. There is no doubt that this is a violation of the law of social justice.

The demographic composition of migrants differs markedly from the composition of the resident population. As a rule migrants have fewer children; most migrants have not yet formed a family or else have no children in the family. Among migrants there is a more pronounced tendency toward so-called "demographic independence" (people disinclined to marry). But if we examine the situation more closely we find that the majority of these individuals do not have commonality of interests with the enterprise where they work, either. Usually their adjustment to the new enterprise proceeds with great difficulty. This undoubtedly has an effect on their production indices.

It is quite understandable that the adjustment period is not the same for all people. It depends on many factors. A person's family situation is of great significance in this respect. For married persons the adjustment process is more difficult yet not any longer than among unmarried persons. A person who migrates together with his family to a certain extent preserves his accustomed microenvironment at the family level. This is undoubtedly an important factor in successful adjustment to a new location. However, it also creates problems. Any one family member's difficulties in adjusting have an effect on the entire family's adjustment. Generally speaking, family migration shows a higher success rate; families are less inclined to change their place of residence repeatedly. But this only holds true if the whole family moves to the new location at the same time. In practice this does not always happen. Married migrants often arrive in a new place alone, without their family; they find a job and move into a workers' dormitory. The family arrives later, and they immediately start complaining to the enterprise administration and to local authorities about their poor living conditions.

Analysis of data gathered in selective surveys of migrants conducted in the LaSSR and other regions of the country as well as data from the 1970 and 1979 censuses indicates that migrational activity declines sharply eight to ten years after arrival in a new location. After a 10-year period the migrational activity of the new arrivals as a rule differs but little from the local population's level of migrational mobility. Therefore we can assume a 10-year period of residence in a new location as one criterion for

migrant adjustment. But even this criterion does not adequately describe migrant adjustment. In order to make a complete adjustment a migrant must learn the native language of the republic in which he or she lives and know and respect native culture and traditions. I am convinced that a 10-year period of residency is quite adequate in this respect.

The distribution and development of our republic's productive capacities and coordination between the supply of and demand for labor are of the greatest significance with regard to regulation of population migration. Many mistakes have been made in Latvia in this respect. I feel that it is essential that we return to certification of jobs in industry and conduct it in all sectors of our republic economy.

The plan according to which our republic's productive forces are sited and developed is in need of considerable improvement. It is essential that the northeastern and eastern regions of Latvia be developed. We need to build a trunk railway in this region, for instance one that would connect the cities of Zilupe and Valmiera. A solution to this problem would allow us to relocate a number of enterprises currently located in Latvia's largest cities to the aforementioned regions. This would allow us to optimize the territorial distribution of industrial facilities in our republic. This is the task posed in the draft "Concept." The envisioned course toward development of firms with a relatively small number of employees (between 10 and 150 persons) could lead to a situation in which mainly large enterprises subordinate to all-union organizations would still be located in Latvia's largest cities. It seems to me that these are precisely the enterprises which should be relocated to less-developed regions of our republic, so that those regions would develop more rapidly through the use of all-union funding. Industrial firms with a small number of employees would permit resolution of economic, ecological and labor-related problems and would also help meet the public's demand for consumer goods. The draft "Concept" outlines plans for interbranch redistribution of manpower. In the physical production sectors the number of workers is to be reduced by 120,000. Of this reduction, 75,000 would be in industry. Thus the remaining physical production sectors would see a reduction of 45,000 workers. However, the current number of workers would be maintained in the construction industry. Consequently there would be a comparatively greater reduction in the industrial work force than in agriculture. This is as it should be, considering the priority given to development of agriculture. However, we are confused by the planned amount of reduction in the number of agricultural workers. This is evidence of efforts to continue previous tendencies, not counting on a more active migration policy in our republic. Therefore it is only natural to ask: how can we orient ourselves toward such a substantial reduction of workers if there is no real chance that there will be a significant rise in the level of agricultural technology in the foreseeable future?



It is not enough to merely limit new construction and expansion of existing enterprises under all-union control. A number of enterprises need to be relocated outside of our republic, closer to their raw material sources and the primary customers for their finished products.

In conclusion I would like to express my support for the suggestion that a general concept for the demographic development of Latvia's population be drawn up; this suggestion was made in an open letter to the cultural council of Latvian creative unions. Overall I support the suggestions made in that letter, but I feel that the creation of an organ to monitor the demographic situation in Latvia without participation by statisticians would be rash. It is precisely statistical organs which are more familiar than anyone else with the actual state of affairs in our republic.

Thus, I feel compelled to make the following generalizations and conclusions:

1. It should be acknowledged that at the present stage purposeful regulation of population migration is one of the most timely tasks in the area of improving the economic, social and demographic development of Latvia's population.
2. Migration policy should be oriented toward attainment of a high degree of effective result from migrational movement, together with a reduction of total migration volume.
3. The LaSSR overall should orient itself toward insignificant migration-generated population growth. Latvian cities with populations in excess of 50,000 should be oriented toward zero or on a temporary basis even negative migration-generated population growth.
4. Migration policy as a whole should become more active. This means that we must not only regulate population migration by applying various economic and administrative measures, but we must also work with so-called potential migrants (above all with our republic's rural youth) and with newly-arrived migrants. In the latter case this work should be designed to facilitate and accelerate migrants' adjustment to their new environment. And not only in terms of their housing and day-to-day problems, but also with regard to language mastery. However, this work should not encourage an increase in migration-generated population growth.
5. Specific migration policy measures should be widely discussed by the people of our republic. Only after this has been done should appropriate governmental resolutions be adopted.

#### National Groups in Estonia Air Concerns at Inter-Ethnic Forum

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[ETA report by R. Amos, L. Kallis, and E. Libman of forum of Estonian nationalities in the assembly hall of the Estonian Polytechnical Institute on 24 September: "A Common Home—Not Public Quarters: Notes From a Forum of the Estonian Peoples"]

[Excerpt] The forum in itself was a unique phenomenon in history, and not only the history of our republic but of the country. The delegations of peoples and national groups living within the territory of the Estonian SSR—there were 17 of them registered from the outset—held a thorough and constructive exchange of views, based on the principle of equal representation, about how to live together and work together to build a new society. By no means always or in every respect was there general agreement among them. Some of the delegations, because of the fact that they could not work out a platform of their own, did not participate in voting on items in the forum resolutions. More than once a particular opinion of one or more of the delegations was noted in the minutes. In fact, the delegation representing the major national minority of Estonia, the Russians, noted an opinion of its own on the second resolution regarding national cultural autonomy, taking exception to it as a whole on the grounds that the issue had been insufficiently studied in depth.

It must be acknowledged that for the present we do not have a mechanism for ensuring the expression of will by an entire national group, and not one of the delegations could therefore claim or, in fact, did claim such representation, but instead spoke only for the group initiating the opinion. Incidentally, in response to an invitation to take part in the forum, Intermovement declined in writing.

Secondly, if one should try to sum up the essence of the talk at the forum, it might be expressed as follows: How can we rebuild the home we share so that it remains under the control of a single proprietor? And so that those who live there do not occupy public quarters, with all the discomfort and strife that go with them, but while sharing a home that is well looked after, thanks to its proprietor, live in well-equipped apartments of their own of which they are the sole proprietors?

Needless to say, this is our view of the forum, and it is obvious that other participants and guests may have altogether different ways of looking at it. For their part they have every right to express their opinions as we have every right to ours.

Now regarding the events that took place last Saturday, commencing at 10 p.m. and lasting until late at night, in the assembly hall of the Tallinn Polytechnic Institute.

The delegations were located on the stage. Each delegation in the hall had in addition a group of invited guests with whom it could consult on all the issues. The forum elicited great interest on the part of the press. According to the Secretariat there were more than 50 journalists in the hall, including representatives of many central publications, journalists from the republics, and foreign correspondents from Poland, Finland, and Denmark.

The forum began with an introductory word from from one of its organizers and leaders, television journalist K. Shreyna. A welcome on behalf of the ad hoc sponsoring group of the Popular Front was given by E. Savisaar.

Then the reports by experts began, the first of which was delivered by a prominent scientific associate of the Institute of History of the ESSR Academy of Sciences, K. Khalnik. She emphasized that this was a historic occasion; for it marked the first time that relationships between the national groups living in the Estonian SSR were to be discussed by the people themselves. Until this time they had played no more than stand-in roles to represent the powerful force of internationalism in showy official reports.

This forum of Estonian peoples became possible because of the political restructuring carried out by the party and by the resulting changes in the situation within the republic. The more democratic the society became, the more successful economic development, and the more developed the culture, the more the issue of relations among nationalities would recede into the background. Unfortunately, Stalinization created a situation in which the concept of internationalism became misinterpreted in the context of the total state, and a policy of assimilation was carried out or even the physical annihilation of small ethnic groups. This situation in turn distorted the ideas of many people about the interrelations of peoples, and their right to their own homeland, language, and culture.

The dictatorial hold of the central agencies had an effect not only on the relations between national groups but on the state of the economy. Ethno-ecology became a new concept in the field of ethnography, but unfortunately did not enter our political lexicon. It is, of course, a known fact that many small ethnic groups need to protect their language, culture, and very sense of self-identity from being ground up in the gears of bureaucratic machinery and disappearing forever.

The expert took note of the fact that under the banner of internationalism marched forces having nothing in common with it, who arbitrarily misinterpreted statements of Lenin on the subject of cultural autonomy. In a discussion with Austrian social democrats, V. I. Lenin came out against cultural autonomy because he believed the right of peoples to self-determination to be higher than any cultural autonomy, and he believed the struggle for this right to be the paramount task of national policy. The negative attitude of V. I. Lenin with respect to

cultural autonomy prior to the revolution was occasioned by the particular circumstances of building the party and the task of contending with tsarism. He was concerned with a particular historical situation and his attitude towards it therefore cannot readily be transferred to other times or to another society. The principles of cultural autonomy were to become a fundamental part of Soviet policy towards nationalities. In resolutions of the 10th and 12th party congresses, as well as in the Constitution of 1924, the right of all national minorities to education and cultural development on the basis of their own language was permanently established.

A senior scientific associate of the Institute of Party History under the ESSR CP Central Committee, K. Khaav, spoke about the necessity of glasnost in dealing with international relations and the history of ethnic groups. He condemned the Stalinist policy of genocide, which left the Leninist policy of the right of peoples to self-determination to disappear without a trace.

"The concept of nationalism has two meanings among us," said K. Khaav. "One is when a person considers his own people superior to others. The second represents a reappraisal of national problems, including a defense by people of their own national interests. Such an interpretation of nationalism militates against nationalistic rights. Both the person who acknowledges that his nationality is equal to others and respects their ways of life and also the person who supports a chauvinist national policy claim to be internationalists. Everything possible in our society has been done to create this terminological muddle with all its consequences. Equality in our country is possible only on the basis of respect for the territory, the language, and the culture of each particular people. Artificial equality in fact leads to a deprivation of the rights of people and only serves to assimilate them."

A. Aarma, deputy director of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the ESSR CP Central Committee stated: "It would be naive to suppose that here today all national groups would be represented, and that the delegations would have the authority to speak for all persons within that group living on ESSR territory. Nevertheless, a first and vital step forward has been taken along the path towards the unification of all peoples in our republic."

He cited the words of the the great poet Alisher Navoi that the wisdom of man comes in drops but that together they form a river. Our purpose, he said, is to form a powerful river enriching the spiritual resources of all the peoples of Estonia. Indisputably, all national groups residing on Estonian territory know the necessity of satisfying their cultural needs and strengthening the ties with their historical and cultural origins. To see in this evidence of separatism is incredible. The tree without a root perishes, as M. S. Gorbachev has noted. Let us

therefore not allow these sources to dry up—sources that nurture historical roots. The stronger each people become, the more powerful will be the union to which they belong.

The state of international relations in the republic is complex. The most recent plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee devoted a large amount of attention to it. On 12 April a special commission was established under the Central Committee, headed by the committee secretary, I. Toome, and consisting of scholars and teachers together with party and soviet officials. The most sensitive issues regarding international relations were identified, and commissions made up of experts were set up to seek a solution to the problems. One of these "sore spots" was the status of Estonian as the official state language. It is necessary, one might think, calmly and consistently to explain that Estonia is the sole territory upon which the Estonian language and culture could develop, and that its establishment as the state language in no way results in discrimination against other languages in the republic. Only in this way is it possible to put a stop to rumors being circulated by certain identified circles.

"We are obliged to take up this question," emphasized A. Aarma. "Have we ourselves, have each one of us, done everything we could to foster relations between the peoples of Estonia based upon mutual respect? Not everything, it seems to me. As an Estonian, I will not involve myself in recriminations directed at other peoples. I will say only that overcoming our own limitations and indifference with respect to the matter of language would help to strengthen mutual understanding among the entire population of the republic. It is necessary to recall the words spoken at the 11th plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee by V. Byalyasom: 'As genuine internationalists in the full sense of the word, we should realize that the vital interests of all who live in the Estonian SSR converge in the restructuring process. So let us make the effort, by working together, to discover for ourselves the Estonia of today.'"

M. Khint, docent of the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute, stated: "I cannot see the grounds for the opinion that Estonians are basically hostile to other peoples—that enmity is an inherent national trait. Estonia is one of the smaller countries of Eastern Europe. It has never known persecutions of the Jews, nor has there been contempt for Gypsies. Historical sources permit us to affirm that the Estonian people have at all time been extremely friendly in their relations with other peoples. They established an agricultural economy on Estonian soil, while the representatives of many nationalities were occupied in a variety of trades. And their labor contributed to the development of Estonia.

"For many years attempts have been made to assimilate the Estonians. Right now certain movements are sounding an alarm that non-Estonians want to become Estonians. These fears are unfounded. We desire only that

they understand the system of values of the Estonian people, their language and customs. At the same time, it is important that each person living in Estonia and each people develop a native national culture."

We are not reporting the speech of A. Kirkh, acting sector chief of the Institute of History of the ESSR Academy of Sciences, since it repeated positions taken in the article by M. Kirkh published in the newspaper VECHERNIY TALLIN of 23 April.

At this point speeches by representatives of the delegations began.

A. Davidyants, chairman of the Armenian cultural society, stated: "The Armenian diaspora in Estonia, of course, shares all the spiritual and cultural values of its own people in Armenia, and it stands in support of the social initiatives arising in its historical homeland. At the same time, we Armenians who live in Estonia are citizens of the ESSR. This means that we are concerned with problems of history, culture, and spiritual life of the Estonian people, and that we feel and accept responsibility for this land on which we live and share the democratic aspirations of the republic.

"For the preservation of the Estonians as a people, strengthening the sovereignty of the republic is essential, as is the possession of citizenship, Estonian as the official state language, and the transition by the republic to full financial accountability. At the same time, there are other national groups living in Estonia that are dissatisfied with the situation as it exists today. We welcome and support the sentiments regarding the cultural development of all peoples living in Estonia as expressed by soviet and party leaders of the republic.

"If the nationalities issue can be resolved on a democratic basis in Estonia, it will help to resolve it in the other republics."

In the name of the Armenian delegation, A. Davidyants made a number of proposals. Among them was the proposal to create within the ESSR Supreme Soviet a Soviet of Nationalities, in which the basic national communities would be represented. This body would be given the authority to resolve problems among small national groups in Estonia. It would also be authorized to deal with the petitions to divide land holdings to assist the normal functioning of the Armenian cultural community—even, eventually, to set aside a parcel of land for the construction of a Center of Estonian-Armenian Friendship.

S. Lazikin, chairman of the Jewish cultural society, stated: "Jews have been living in Estonia for 655 years. I have no wish to idealize events, but the cultural autonomy of the Jews in Estonia existed as of 1925. It was eradicated during the period 1940-1941. The Jewish community, residing in the various cities of Estonia, erected with its own resources community buildings,



schools, housing and religious structures. Today the time has arrived when Jewish cultural autonomy in Estonia is beginning to revive. But over the years much has disappeared never to return. For example, we are unable to open a Jewish school for the simple reason that there are no people capable of teaching in that school. We are making a great effort to open next month study groups for the study of our native language. There is a question, for example, whether we have today the opportunity and the capacity to build a community building in Tallinn. I doubt it. Cultural autonomy requires state support.

"There is another problem. This is the problem of anti-Semitism. It exists, and we must recognize it. It would be nice if our mention of this subject turned out to be the last reference to it. Still, today it is necessary to speak of it. It is regrettable that attempts are being made to unite the conception of a 'Zionist' to that of a Jew and thus to misconstrue the conflict with Zionism."

M. Trinskite, speaking for the Lithuanian delegation, stated: "We did not come here in search of an easy life. Most of us moved to Estonia as a result of family circumstances in connection with work or upon completion of training. Mahatma Gandhi once expressed the profound paradoxical essence of internationalism when he said, 'I do not want a high wall to surround my house and to have the windows boarded up. I want the cultures of all peoples to freely blow through it—not to have one of them knock me off my feet.' The Lithuanians of Estonia share this feeling."

A Lithuanian cultural society is being established and right now is drafting its charter, M. Trinskite told the forum.

Although a certain lack of understanding may exist on the part of some members of the non-Estonian population regarding the legal rights of Estonians to their own territory, the reverse of this attitude could be detected in some of the speeches at the forum—a desire, as the saying goes, to be more catholic than the Pope in Rome. This was particularly true of certain phrases in a generally correct address by Yuris Putrinsh, chairman of the Latvian delegation. He proposed, for example, that only people born in Estonia should be selected for positions in management or government service. It would be probably difficult to agree with depriving those born during the evacuation of the war years of this right, or those whose parents against their will turned up in Siberia, and so on. But one can agree fully with what Yu. Putrinsh had to say about the problems that the Estonian and Latvian peoples shared in common—the pain and fears they shared in common for their fate. It is scarcely possible to say anything against the desire of those Latvians living in Estonia to give their children an elementary education in their native language, or against their proposal to develop an inter-republic exchange of information in the press, to broaden cultural contacts, and to strengthen ties with Latvians living in Latvia and beyond its boundaries.

M. Limbak, chairman of the cultural society of Estonian Swedes, stated: "According to census information gathered in the post-war years in the ESSR, after counting the number of Estonians, Russians, Ukrainians, and other national groups, we are subsumed in a column headed 'Other.' Yet in the summer of 1940 we ranked third in size of populations among national groups, right after the Estonians and Russians. During the years of the Estonian republic, the Swedes have been engaged primarily in maritime industry. Their fishing and coastal fleet numbers more than a thousand ships. During the Great War of the Fatherland more than 300 Estonian Swedes fought in the ranks of the Estonian rifle corps or served in the rear of the Soviet Army.

"Unfortunately, in the post-war period many Swedes were forced to abandon their homesites. Families were destroyed, and people's lives were ruined. For 44 years our families, relatives and neighbors were separated one from another. But the roots of the Estonian Swedes, although living on the opposite coast of the Baltic, were and remain in Estonian soil."

M. Limbak proposed the establishment of free access for Estonian Swedes and their descendants to their historically established homeland. A start should be made to teach the Swedish language to children of ethnic Swedes. And the formerly existing names for the territories of Vormsi, Pärnu, and Padise should be restored.

Representatives of the Finnish delegation, A. Shults and Kh. Tyuvi, dwelt in detail on the sad history of those Finns who lived and are living today in the USSR—their role in the cultural context of daily life in Estonia.

"We represent approximately 200 Izhorskiy Finns and their descendants," said A. Shults. "In their name I voice our demands that all Izhorskiy Finns condemned without legal recourse under Stalin should be rehabilitated. There are many of us who have acquired a new home in Estonia."

Citing the necessity of cultural autonomy, the speakers petitioned for the opportunity to view Finnish television broadcasts in Estonian territory. They also proposed revision of the passport system.

Representing the delegation of Turkish Tatars, F. Nadiullina stated: "There were Tatars in Estonia in the days of the revolution. A Tatar cultural society, one of many, was in existence in the 1930's. But in 1940 the society was dissolved and the cultural life of the Tatars here began to die out. Even today we are able to assert that the society which existed then has left in us vestiges of the past," she emphasized. "We observe ceremonial customs of days of national holidays and in bidding a final farewell to our comrades. We are united by our native Tatar language. The idea of reviving the cultural society still remains an open question in view of the absence of a location for it. Such a place would, however,

make it possible to commemorate national occasions, celebrate weddings, found a native language library, and hold Sunday school for children and their parents."

Speaking for the Hungarian delegation, I. Ban stated: "The Hungarians living in Estonia are basically migrants from the Carpathian Mountains, where 172,000 Hungarians are now living. We bear a great responsibility to our children to preserve for them, as well as we can, access to the Hungarian language, culture, and ways of thinking. Although there are relatively few of us in Estonia—approximately a hundred persons—we do not want to remain aloof from the social and political changes taking place in the republic and throughout the Soviet Union, and we are ready to do all within our power and ability to foster the success of restructuring.

"Relations between nationalities should be based upon mutual respect and upon recognition of the principle of mutual enrichment of cultures. While acknowledging the necessity of making Estonian the official state language, at the same time we need assurance that we and others will have the opportunity to communicate at the official level in the Russian language. The study of Estonian is also an urgent matter for us, but this cannot be accomplished in a day. Overcoming the "sore spots" in international relations means recognizing the equality of all national cultures. Only in this event will we be able to speak of genuinely international relations between peoples."

Greeting the Estonian people on behalf of the sponsors for the establishment of a Belorussian Cultural Center, A. Lapyshev stated: "In this immense country of ours we must not lose our main source of wealth, which is the culture of our ethnic groups. We must preserve them all, even the smallest ethnic groups and nationalities. The basic principle must be as follows: The fewer the number of people, the more care and consideration they must be given.

"I wish to speak also about the concern Belorussians feel regarding the limited opportunities they have for studying Estonian language, history, and traditions. In my judgment the sole means of resolving problems between nationalities is in the revival of national cultures with cultural autonomy, and as a result the possibility of a dialogue as equals with the indigenous people—not as that faceless pseudo-culture known as 'the Russian-speaking population.'"

"The situation today is difficult, and we must bear in mind the fact that the weakest of societies is the one that is torn asunder by internal bickering," said the representative of the Belorussian delegation, V. Kratovich. "We believe therefore that responsibility for resolving the nationality question rests with each person who lives in the republic, but above all with the Estonian CP Central Committee and the leaders of all social movements in the republic. It is necessary in working out the decisions to take more clearly into consideration the possible

response to these decisions. In our view, the response and reception of the indigenous nationality is immediately to be considered. It is essential, of course, to ascertain its opinion to begin with, but to ignore the opinions of representatives of the other national groups is likewise out of the question. Such a sound organization as the Popular Front, one might hope, would take a more prominent part in seeking to find a common language with the Russian-speaking population in the republic.

"All of us who live in Estonia, as citizens of the USSR, are obliged to seek a solution to the nationalities issue, guided by communist principles and good sense, and without encroaching upon the interests of a single national group."

In the name of the Russian delegation, O. Bazanov stated: "The historical experience of the non-indigenous nationalities living in Estonia shows two ways of adapting to the local scene—either cultural autonomy or assimilation. For the relatively small ethnic groups these appear to be natural choices. But let us begin by confronting the real question: Can cultural autonomy as an organizational and legal principle protect the vital interests of such a numerous population as the Russian speakers? The subject requires individual, balanced, and competent study and discussion.

"What, in our view, needs to be done to start building bridges of mutual understanding? We are opposed to the establishment of associations, on nationalist grounds, pursuing political ends. The basis of an association of Russians in Estonia, it seems to us, must be their culture and spiritual resources in the broadest sense of these concepts, no matter what this association may be called—a society of Russian culture or Russian cultural center.

"From this high rostrum of the Peoples' Forum, we wish to address first of all the Russian intelligentsia, including the technical intelligentsia. We call upon them to be recognize their duty to their own people. It is the intelligentsia that at all times have been the spokesmen for the idea of unity. Without this first step it would be naive to undertake the task of establishing a broad-based and all-inclusive association of the Russian-speaking population.

"We believe that the forum should serve to lay the foundation for overcoming the confusion of nationalist sentiments, for overstepping historical, psychological, and culturally ingrained prejudices, offenses, and misunderstandings, and for listening to the voice of reason. Let us remember that a single objective unites us all—to establish a new beginning for our society.

"We are all residents of Estonia, living in a sovereign socialist state. Individually, we are different. But we all live on Estonian soil. Let us therefore express the hope that in attempting to resolve issues of nationality, humanitarian principles of trust and good sense will prevail.

"We believe that it is necessary in the interest of all peoples of the republic to include the following proposals in the documents of the forum: (1) To create an effective state network for Estonian language instruction; (2) For the purpose of adequately informing the Russian-speaking population, to provide for regular simultaneous translations of all timely Estonian radio and television broadcasts; (3) To found a weekly Russian-language journal oriented to cultural affairs—that is, international as well as Estonian and local Russian affairs; (4) For the particular guidance of the Russian-speaking intelligentsia to familiarize them with the interests of the republic, to expand opportunities for the Russian-speaking population to receive mid-level and higher education in Russian.

"Today the Popular Front is making its appearance as a mass movement for restructuring, uniting essentially all segments of the population. Yet we cannot ignore the fact that in the minds of some of the Russian-speaking population a prejudice against such a movement has been formed on the grounds that it is purely nationalistic. It seems to us that in order to overcome this prejudice the efforts of both sides are necessary. We call upon the delegates of the Popular Front Congress in carrying out their program to try to understand and take into consideration insofar as is possible the interests and fears of the non-Estonian population. Meanwhile, it is up to us to make a concerted effort to make the problems and apprehensions of the Estonian people familiar and understandable to this section of the population.

"We support the idea of establishing a Chamber of Nationalities of the ESSR Supreme Soviet and welcome the present forum as a first step in that direction."

"Right now we are discussing the question of national and cultural autonomy for the Estonian peoples," said V. Brekhov. "We are for autonomy, as we are for the lawful

resolution of national problems. But we believe that passage of the 'Declaration on Cultural Autonomy of Estonia' in its present form is premature. The draft has not been worked out and certain amendments of one sort or another have not been completed. Further preparation by competent legal experts is required with maximum participation by all interested parties. In preparing the document it is necessary to take into consideration the relevant experience of others—worldwide and, in particular, that of the ESSR. Here, in 1925, a law was passed that clearly defined the meaning of 'national minorities.' The prerogatives and limitations of national minorities must be precisely determined in order that cultural autonomy is not followed by administrative autonomy.

There were speeches by guests and persons specially invited to address the forum in addition to those by members of the delegation. Among these speakers was E. Leysson, who emphasized the necessity of paying increased attention to the conditions of Estonians living in other regions of the Soviet Union. Other speakers included Ya. Lapien, a Pole; S. Efros, a student from Moldavia; V. Salum, pastor of Pilstvereskiy Parish; A. Repin, a teacher at the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages; F. Eysen, president of the Estonian Esperanto Society; and Ya. Kaplinskiy, a writer. They, too, raised problems and made proposals. All these problems and proposals, as well as those raised by the delegates, will be reflected in a consolidated report to be prepared by a panel of qualified representatives selected at the forum.

In conclusion, although various opinions and approaches to the many questions were expressed by the delegates, as already indicated, they were united in major respects. The path to the common goal lies in the direction of trust, mutual understanding, consolidation of effort, and implementation of the resolutions of the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee plenum.



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